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J. Clark Laundergan
Iowa State University

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SOCIO-CULTURAL INTEGRATION, CHANGE AND SOCIAL POWER IN A VACATION COMMUNITY: A CASE STUDY WITH METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

by

J. Clark Laundergan

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INTRODUCTION

The dissertation title should prepare the reader for the chapters that follow if sufficient emphasis is placed on the phrase, "methodological implications." Part One, consisting of four chapters, deals, both explicitly and implicitly, with methodological considerations. Accordingly, before the reader reaches Part Two, which contains the community case study and analysis, he has been exposed, at length, to the writer's methodological and theoretical-methodological frame of reference. It is on the foundation of this frame of reference that the community study is built, thus giving rise to the phrase, "methodological implication," in the dissertation title.

Chapter One is a slight departure from the usual dissertation format as it reviews methodological use patterns both from a historical and a comtemporary perspective. The survey of methodological developments in sociology is essential to the present research in that it documents the methodological trends in sociology and thereby gives rise to one of the study's central theses, i.e., sociology must work toward the development of supplementary techniques of research that are appropriate to the investigation of both subjective and objective social system properties. Without the extensive review of methodological use patterns contained in Chapter One, this thesis would be tenuous and the following chapters would be considerably weakened.

The exploration of promising methodological alternatives to the standard modes of sociological investigation is the topic of Chapter Two, where attention is given to the "natural history approach" employed

in the biological sciences and to the "holistic approach" current in anthropology and occasionally found in sociology. It is not the writer's contention in Chapter Two that the "natural history approach" and the "holistic approach" are the only methodological approaches appropriate to sociology's research concerns, but it is suggested that they have advantages that recommend them to the sociological researcher. Furthermore, as both approaches are consistent with the supplementary research technique thesis set forth in Chapter One, they provide the general frame of reference for the variety of research techniques employed in the study as detailed in Chapter Four. Chapter Two concludes with a discussion of the setting and selection of the community studied - the vacation community of Lake N, Wisconsin.

Chapter Three begins with the macro theoretical point of view and then narrows to the reduced macro unit of the community in terms of social power, integration, and change. With the implications for the present study of the theoretical considerations made clear, the list of general questions which served as a guide in the present study will be presented. These questions will lead into the next chapter which is a return to methodology.

Chapter Four, the last chapter in Part One of the present work, is designed to meet the objective stated in Chapter Two. In the discussion of the holistic approach it was stated that, "The holistic approach must be used, and further, the results of its use must be documented from a methodological point of view as well as from a substantive point of view." It is the purpose of Chapter Four to document the use of the holistic approach, as it has been adapted for the present purpose, from a

methodological point of view. What were the phases of the field work? How were informants obtained? Where did most of the observation take place? These and other questions dealing specifically with the techniques and procedures of the present study will be the subject of Chapter Four.

Part Two consists of the presentation of the community study findings with the process of social power examined in its relations with the processes of socio-cultural integration-disintegration and socio-cultural change-maintenance, and in its relations with the total community and the society. All of Part Two is intended to move in the methodological-theoretical direction that is recommended in Part One. It may be said that Part Two is the realization of intentions, occasional groupings, and related investigations contained in Part One, which may be seen as the reflection and documentation of the writer's thinking and development. Without Part One there could never have been a Part Two. The four chapters contained in Part Two are largely descriptive of what most Americans with experiences in small communities would consider commonplace. Nothing in the way of a dramatic discovery is to be found in the second part of the present study instead, the second part of the present study stands as a portion of a recommended series of descriptions of routine and regular patterns that will, when compared and contrasted, lead to discoveries concerning the regularities of human social behavior.

Chapter Five contains information about the background of Lake N and the region around Lake N with a discussion of the geography, history, ecology, and demography of the community. A brief indication of the geographical, historical, ecological, and demographical aspects of the community will be given in introducing the reader to the region and the

community and in pointing our reasons for the selection of Lake N for the purpose of a community study in Chapter Two. More background information of the same sort will be presented in Chapter Five as this provides not only a basis for understanding the community of Lake N but also has a direct bearing on the research problem.

Chapter Six undertakes an examination of the structure of social relationships within the community. What is the role of the family in structuring social relationships? What are the patterns of causal interaction by age and sex? How do voluntary associations and formal associations structure social relationships? How are local economic enterprises and decision making bodies important in ordering social relationships? These questions are considered, and from the understanding of the structural base of social relationships, an exploration of social relationships in process is presented. Social relationships in process are approached by way of the dynamic interplay engaged in by individuals and groups. Following from the structural and processural considerations of social relationships, the data are reexamined from the social systems approach. A great deal can be learned about a community when it is conceptualized systemically, and the holistic approach to the community proves to be a useful data gathering approach in filling out the information requirements for a systemic description.

Social power is formally singled out as a part of the growing description of Lake N in Chapter Seven. Much of the material contained in the three preceding chapters is employed in placing social power in the context of the community and in looking at the ways in which it is tied into and supported by other community structures and processes. Several

community issues help to illustrate the dynamics of social power in Lake N. Programs of Federal Aid also illustrate external linkage patterns and raise additional questions of the effect of federally sponsored programs on the dynamics and structure of local social power.

Chapter Eight serves to pull together the loose ends of the discussion which has preceded it and also helps the reader to view the community from the holistic perspective. As stated previously, part of the contribution of the holistic approach is to keep the whole community in mind so that in interpreting details, a breadth of view may be maintained. Chapter Eight seeks to maintain this broad perspective in the interpretation of detail from the description of Lake N. Still maintaining the breadth of view, an exploration of the analytical prospects for the present study is approached by way of a summary comparison of the community description contained in the present study with R. Lowry's Who's Running This Town? (68). From this brief comparative discussion it is possible to suggest further analytical directions and to relate the study back to the presentation contained in Chapter One. Along with Chapter Eight's summary of findings and analytical explorations, the limitations of the present study and its relevance in terms of the goals of sociology are presented, thereby drawing the study to a close on a note of self evaluation.

CHAPTER ONE: METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

When a researcher begins to consider a research problem he must determine the relationship between that problem and the research activity, methodology, and theory current in his discipline. What work has been done on the problem in question? What work dealing with the question is ongoing? What methodologies have been used and are being used by other researchers? What theoretical frameworks are being used in research activity and how are they being used? These questions, and related questions, all need to be considered by the researcher in the early stages of his research project.

Once answers to the above questions have been determined, the researcher is obligated to place his particular research problem into the context of the work ongoing in his discipline. By proposing that the researcher should place his problem into the context of ongoing research it is not suggested that each research project should be a duplicate of all other projects. Rather, the researcher should acknowledge the extent to which his project follows the dominant pattern of research within his discipline and to what extent it departs from the dominant research pattern. Such an assessmen of his project in relation to other research efforts will aid the rese rcher in clarifying the direction of his work, will aid the reader of t. research report by helping the reader to view the research relative to other research in the discipline, and will promote the continuity of research.

Acknowledging the work that has been done and is being done in the problem area under consideration has become standard in scientific

writing so that most often such a review is included as a part of a research report. Perhaps the review of literature too often becomes an unrelated exercise that the writer includes without clearly placing his project into the context of the studies that he has acknowledged, but the presence of such a review is commendable. Noting that the omission in relating the review of literature to the research being undertaken represents a shortcoming in creating a continuity of research, it should be indicated that an even greater shortcoming is the lack of attention given to a methodological survey.

A methodological survey should follow the general format of the review of literature but unlike the review of literature it should place the research being reported into a methodological field. What research techniques have been employed in the past? What research techniques are most prevalent at the time of the research being reported? To what extent does the research being reported depart from, or conform to, the dominant research techniques? These are questions that should be considered in a methodological survey.

Arnold Rose's argument for including a statement of the basis for the selection of data provides another reason for a methodological survey (103, pp. 153-168). As Rose makes clear, there is a problem, inherent in every research undertaking, of selectivity in data gathering. Accordingly, Rose insists, sociological writers should make their criteria for data selection clear. "Probably most of the investigators who deliberately withhold a statement on the basis of their selection of data do so because they believe that this is not proper in a scientific document.

Yet it is one of the basic canons of science that all steps in the collection and analysis of data be specified" (103, p. 154).

It will be the purpose of this chapter to carry out a methodological survey. The methodological survey will include a review of methodology through time, over the last four decades, with special consideration given to the methodology of the 1960's. A methodological classification of the articles appearing in three major sociological journals during the years 1960 through 1966 will provide the basis for the special consideration given to the methodology of the 1960's.

Both the review of literature and the theoretical frame of reference will be presented in a later chapter. Postponing these discussions should permit the reader time to become accustomed to the approach to the study of community being used here and in this way prepare the reader for the breadth of the review of literature and theoretical framework necessitated by the present research approach.

Methodological survey - historical perspective

Sociology has had a tradition of introspection and self-evaluation. Some representative books in this tradition are listed below by year of publication, author(s), and title.

Year	Author (Editor)	Title	
1929	Lundberg, Bain, and Anderson	Trends in American Sociology	(69)
1936	House	The Development of Sociology	(49)
1940	Barnes, Becker, and Becker	Contemporary Social Theory	(7)
1945	Gurvitch and Moore	Twentieth Century Sociology	(44)

Year	Author (Editor)	Title	
1954	Hinkle and Hinkle	The Development of Modern Sociology	(45)
1957	Becker and Boskoff	Modern Sociological Theory	(75)
1957	Gittler	Review of Sociology	(41)
1959	Merton, Broom, and Cottrell	Sociology Today	(77)
1964	Faris	Handbook of Modern Sociology	(33)

The books listed above will provide the basis for the survey of the past and present states of sociology with reference to methodological use patterns. Discussion of portions of the above works will be limited to considerations with methodological implications. It must be stated that the selection of works listed above is, in part, arbitrary but may be supported on the basis of the general recognition of these works in tracing the development of sociology.

Lundberg Speaking out for the "natural science" approach in 1929, George Lundberg says that the direction he recommends will result in an increase in quantification in the social sciences (69, p. 404) but he indicates that there is nothing mutually exclusive in the historical method (69, p. 409). Furthermore, he calls the relationship between these methods supplementary (69, p. 411) with case studies being especially valuable for exploratory purposes (69, p. 412). However, he does depreciate the case study method when he states that "...the so called 'case' method is merely an informal, comparatively unsystematic, and crude form of the statistical method" (69, p. 411).

Lundberg's remarks are of special interest in the present work for they were made at a time when quantification was in its infancy and the

historical and case study approaches were dominant in sociology. Since 1929, quantification has gained increasingly in use and importance and the historical and case study approaches have experienced a loss of favor among some sociologists. It must be noted that with this shift in approach there has been a loss in the supplementary relationship that Lundberg mentioned as a part of his 1929 argument for quantification.

Addressing himself again to the subject of the "natural science" approach in a relatively recent article (70, pp. 191-202) Lundberg acknowledges that positivism, or as he prefers to call it, the "natural science" approach, is the dominant school in sociology today. Lundberg says, "I think that there are very few people left who want to renew the argument about quantification..." (70, p. 192) and further, "Our view of the nature and place of quantification as actually advocated in the works under discussion (the major neo-positivist works) has won fairly complete acceptance in the last fifteen years..." (70, p. 192). In the same assured manner he discusses the approaches other than quantification by stating, "We no longer hear much about the 'method' of 'verstehen', 'insight','case study versus statistics', etc." (70, p. 202). These are the statements of an advocate of quantification who has seen his approach rise to a position of dominance during a twenty six year period.

House Floyd House presents his readers with an overview of two major sociological research techniques in the chapter, "Statistical Methods and Case Studies," in his work, The Development of Sociology (48, pp. 367-376). Tracing the development of the use of statistics in sociological research, House suggests a paradox that was evident in

the 1930's wherein the American sociological journals did not contain a large number of technical statistical studies (48, p. 371) while at the same time there was a strong tradition of using statistical techniques in sociology as it developed in America. The strong tradition favoring statistics in sociological research was, in the decade of the 1930's, developing into the view that science *is essentially dependent on the use* of statistics. Nevertheless, the view favoring the use of statistical techniques to the exclusion of other research approaches had not yet grown to the proportion where sociological statistical reporting dominated the sociological journals.

What might appear to be a paradox in the 1930's becomes clear with the perspective of hindsight. It would appear that the neo-positivistic position was gaining in vocal adherents but had not yet reached the position of dominance it was to achieve in the following decades. Many statistical sociological studies were published in the Journal of the American Statistical Association rather than in sociological publications (48, p. 371). Again this pattern of publication would change in time with the efforts of a well integrated core of young neo-positivists.

On the other hand, the case study approach, defined by House as "...a method of establishing knowledge of the processes of social and personal behavior..."(48, p. 375) lacked the backing of either an extensive body of methodological literature or a solid core of spokesmen. It is indicated that the use of the term "case study" had been confused by a variety of proponents of the case study method with each having differing notions of the procedures appropriate to the technique. Although

it is not clearly stated by House, there is the suggestion in his discussion of the two research approaches that the well organized minority (statistical approach) was in the process of overtaking the unorganized majority (case study approach) during the 1930's.

In a later chapter entitled, "Present Sociological Trends and Tendencies," House discusses the quantitative versus non-quantitative controversy again. He indicates that "...the research tendency in sociology has been, preponderantly but not exclusively, a tendency to the use of statistical and other quantitative methods. The principle exceptions to this trend are constituted by the research undertakings of staff members, students, and former students of the University of Chicago, where under the leadership of several professors of marked ability and influence researches involving primarily the use of the case study and 'natural history' method have been executed" (48, p. 423). An elaboration of the problems of growing dominance of statistical and other quantitative procedures is contained in an article authored by House in the American Journal of Sociology, 1934, entitled, "Measurement in Sociology." Recognizing that the quantitative methods have numerous advantages, among which are the verification and rejection of hypotheses, House sees the prime limitation to quantitative research in that it cannot be used to study all social phenomena (49, p. 2). Asking the question of whether all social phenomena can be reduced to quantitative formulations leads House to state that we must ultimately be talking about quantities of something (49, p. 3).

Reference to quantities of something moves House to a brief discussion of "acquaintance knowledge", a philosophical notion dealt with by

John Dewey. "Scientific propositions must contain only terms with which we have some acquaintance, or knowledge; any other terms can have no real meaning for us" (49, p. 5). To the extent that there is relevance to the work of quantitative researchers there must be a meaningful formulation of measures. Meaningful measures depend on acquaintance knowledge and acquaintance knowledge greater than the first hand experience of the quantitative researcher may be supplied by the non-quantitative researcher. There is, then, a mutual dependence between the case study approach, designed to document acquaintance knowledge, and quantitative research, designed to test hypotheses. It may be said that acquaintance knowledge is the "something" out of which quantitative measures are derived and that the goal of the case study research is to build a growing body of documented acquaintance knowledge.

House asks an open question at the end of his discussion of measurment that is highly relevant to the sociology of the 1960's. "Is it good research policy to allow our inquiries to be directed and limited, to a large degree, by the availability of data suitable for quantitative treatment?" (49, p. 11). An answer to this question, strongly supported by the present writer, is that our research policy in sociology should not be limited or directed by a single research orientation. Instead, a range of research techniques should be given attention, and the case study approach and other non-quantitative techniques show promise as alternatives and supplements to the techniques of quantification.

In summarizing the discussion of sociological methodology of the 1930's as presented by House, it might appear that the neo-positivists were moving into the forefront of sociological research with a unified

but narrow definition of scientific investigation. The advocates of description and the case study approach lacked the unity and clear statement of method that was offered by the neo-positivists. With the growth of the neo-positivist position, the question of whether a single methodological approach is adequate began to be asked. House builds a case for methodological pluralism around the philosophical notion "acquaintance knowledge" saying that quantities must be quantities of something and that the something is the stuff of experience of a direct or indirect sort of which the quantitative researcher has some awareness. Such acquaintance knowledge may take the form of documented experience that is contained in the product of case study research and other non-quantitative forms of investigation. Sociology must, therefore, strive to keep an array of procedures of investigation in order to adequately study the complex phenomena of sociological concern.

Barnes et al. Writing on the "Development of Sociology" Harry Elmer Barnes sets the direction for the chapters included in the 1940 work, Contemporary Social Theory (6, pp. 3-15). In commenting on the contemporary trend of specialization in sociology, Barnes includes William F. Ogburn with George Lundberg as major figures insisting on greater utilization of quantitative methods in sociology (7, p. 7). Lundberg's position on quantification in sociology has already been referred to in this methodological survey but one would question why Barnes includes Ogburn as a strong advocate of neo-positivism. Ogburn's views, as expressed in the article, "Limitations of Statistics," (90, pp. 12-20) would place him in the position of a neo-positivist critic rather than an advocate of neo-positivism. A summary of several of the points made by

Ogburn in this article seem relevant to the present discussion.

Ogburn begins his argument on the limitation of statistics with the statement, "The increasing usefulness of statistics has brought its devotees. But devotion is unseasoning, and loyalities are more appropriate to group action than to clear thinking" (90, p. 12). What the devotees of statistics must realize, according to Ogburn, is that statistics serves to make more exact that which is known information, to verify what has already been discovered. However, statistics is limited as a tool of discovery.

Speaking of the role of non-quantitative research, Ogburn indicates that the greatest limitation of statistics is that some knowledge is not sufficiently quantitative to be approached statistically. Accordingly, the exploration of these knowledge areas must take a non-quantitative direction. Even where knowledge areas possess abundant quantitative characteristics, the work preceding quantification must move in a non-quantitative direction. "Concepts must be delineated, classification and comparison must be undertaken, rough observation must be made, preliminary surveys to get a perspective often need to be done" (90, p. 15).

Finally, Ogburn comments on the limitation of statistics in interpretation and understanding of data. Interpretation is a necessary part of the process of deriving knowledge, and knowledge is a building block of understanding. Understanding, in turn, is the ultimate aim of science. Therefore, when an investigator is faced with a correlation, for example, he must seek the meaning of the relationship or lack of relationship between the variables that he is concerned with (90, p. 17). The meaning

of the correltation is what transforms a datum to the level of knowledge. One must remember that the meaning that arises by way of the investigator's interpretation is not an explanation but rather it is a part of the growing knowledge that will eventually lead to explanation. That is to say that interpretation of a datum always brings about the need for further investigation in order to move the interpretation knowledge to the level of explanation which is the result of firmly grounded understanding. Throughout the process of interpretation and understanding, the investigator must concern himself with the non-quantitative aspects of the quantities he has measured.

From the position taken by Ogburn in his discussion of the limitations of statistics, one would have to conclude that he stands in opposition to George Lundberg who writes, "For it will be recognized that statistical methods are only a more refined and formal way of manipulating meaningful data of experience, which under simpler conditions were generalized by informal rule-of-thumb methods" (71, p. 139). Lundberg does not recognize the limitations in statistics that Ogburn notes but instead sees the incompetent statistician and unrefined concepts and terminology as the only limitations of quantification. For Lundberg, there is little place for non-quantification in social science investigation, whereas for Ogburn, we cannot proceed in sociological research without non-quantification.

The volume, Contemporary Social Theory, contains another methodological discussion found in the chapter by Kimball Young and Douglas Oberdorfer. Although this chapter is principally concerned with social psychology, it presents a clear statement of the advantages and limitations

of the case study and statistical methods. Case study in social psychology differs from case study in sociology as it is concerned with the individual in a social situation rather than the social situation per se. Nevertheless, the advantages and limitations of the two research approaches are applicable in the present discussion. These advantages and limitations of the two approaches are summarized in the table that follows.

ADVANTAGES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE CASE STUDY AND STATISTICAL METHODS SUMMARIZED FROM THE DISCUSSION BY K. YOUNG AND D. OBERDORFER IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL THECRY pages 380-382 (7)

ADVANTAGES	LIMITATIONS
CASE STUDY	
yields a continuous pattern of behavior	high possibility of error and distortion through subjectivity of investigator
relates the past to the present	no control over the data that are being observed
permits interrelated action patterns to be studied in vivo	no sampling raises the question of representativeness and generalizability
suggests new categories of knowledge	
STATISTICAL	
careful measurement	selection of simple units of behavior
high control	categorization of data
representativeness through sampling	selectivity in data gathering
reliability of measures can be checked	depends on subjective judgments by investigator that are not made objective by putting them into numerical form
generalizations can be stated in terms of probabilities	

Young and Oberdorfer conclude their survey of the advantages and limitations of the case study and statistical methods by suggesting that

both approaches provide usable methods for certain types of data gathering. If this conclusion is correct, and this writer is convinced that it is, we should find both approaches represented in the research reports of the 1960's as they were in the research reports of the 1940's. The classification of journal articles appearing in three major sociological journals which will be presented later in the present chapter will indicate the extent to which a "balanced" methodological picture is present in the sociology of the 1960's.

The methodological direction in the sociology of the early 1940's may be characterized by an increased interest in the use of quantification but at the same time there is a critical acceptance of the tools of quantification by some scholars such as Ogburn. Through such criticism and the careful weighing of the advantages and limitations of quantitative and non-quantitative research techniques, there seems to be a conclusion emerging that both approaches have, with some drawbacks, something to offer in a certain research situation. Young and Oberdorfer clearly state some of the advantages and limitations of the case study and statistical methods, but exponents of neo-positivism, such as George Lundberg, appear to dismiss the criticism and careful inventory of methodologies in favor of a singular acceptance of the quantitative approach.

Burgess Writing on research methods in sociology in Gurvitch and Moore's Twentieth Century Sociology,(44) Ernest Burgess explores the implications of what he considers the two basic methods of social research, statistics and case study (17, pp. 20-41). One of the questions he explores is, To what extent do the two methods in question presuppose different conceptions of the subject matter of sociology? Does the use

of the statistical method call for a different conception of society as well as a different set of research tools from that of the sociologist using the case study method?

The conception of the nature of society that is consistent with the statistical method of investigation is atomistic such that the social whole is considered unimportant relative to the importance of the parts. Calling this view of society a "nominalist" view, Burgess sees the focus of the nominalist interests centered largely on the physiological and mental processes of individuals rather than in the group as an object of study (17, p. 21). As such, the nominalist's atomistic view of society excludes a portion of the subject matter of sociology by studying aggregates of individuals rather than the relationship networks and the wholeness of the group.

In contrast to the proponent of the statistical method, the case study advocate is termed a "realist" by Burgess because of his "organic" view of the nature of society. Society and the group are the objects of study for the realist instead of the mental processes of individuals. Accordingly, the realist is concerned about social processes, collective representations, and social control (17, pp. 20-21).

Suggesting that the controversy over the two methods of sociological investigation has been helpful in defining important methodological issues, Burgess awards the victory to the realists in so far as there has been an acknowledgement that certain aspects of behavior cannot be studied solely by the investigation of the mental processes of individuals. However, the reverse might be said to hold true as well in that certain aspects of behavior cannot be studied by investigating social processes

and patterns of integration. Burgess states that, "...there are aspects of human behavior which may best be studied under the conception of society as an aggregate of independent individuals, and other aspects which can only be adequately defined and examined by the opposing conception of society as a reality of which its members are products" (17, p. 22).

Later in his discussion, Burgess takes up a related point when he states the possible interrelationships between statistical and case study methods. He states that it is worthwhile to use the case study method as an adjunct to statistics, such as in the exploratory phase of an investigation, or gain in working toward a wider interpretation of statistical findings. The statistical and case study methods are complementary when used in conjunction with one another and this complementary interdependence should be continued in sociological investigations. "There seems to be every indication of the continued growth both of statistical and case study methods. Particularly promising are the prospects that both methods will be used in the same research project to enhance the understanding of the problem" (17, p. 40).

In pointing out the different conceptions of the subject matter of sociology that are connected with the statistical and case study methods, Burgess makes a strong argument for using the two methods to supplement one another. One can draw a parallel with the situation that obtains in physics where the particle theory of light and the wave theory of light are permitted to coexist because both play a part in explaining the phenomenon "light." Sociologists must admit both the atomistic and

organic theories of society and develop the methodologies that are consistent with these conceptions of society as they both work to explain the phenomenon "society." In this way it can be seen that there can be no victor to the statistics versus case study controversy. Instead, there is the need to recognize that both research methods, with their related conceptions of society, are necessary in sociology.

Hinkle and Hinkle In concluding their concise treatment of the development of sociology, Roscoe and Gesela Hinkle note that the problems of investigation in American sociology have, by 1954, diversified whereas the methods used to explore the problems have become specialized. Their discussion indicates that the specialization of methods has taken place without having resolved the controversy of quantification versus non-quantification (45, p. 72). "In their efforts to establish laws of human behavior, social structure and change sociologists use methods patterned after other social and natural sciences, at least implicitly. They tend to emphasize quantification by using measurement and statistical techniques, to approximate experimentation by constructing research designs, and to interrelate their activities by formulating hypotheses drawn from existent principles, generalizations and laws" (45, p. 73).

Although the Hinkles acknowledge the case study approach and include it among the tools of sociological investigation, it is quite clear that the specialization of method that they refer to is the specialization and dominance of quantification. Such specialization of method in sociology would appear to be a product of a desire by sociologists to increase their research precision. Research precision is, in itself, a worthwhile goal

but there seems to be an error in the practice of specializing a single approach in order to achieve research precision. The error, it should be recognized, is that in a specialized tool there exists a great limitation in that the specialized tool is well fitted for a limited task but at the same time it is sadly lacking in versatility. Diversifying and refining research tools would be a more reasonable goal than specializing in a single research approach if sociologists desire precision in their investigations of an expanding range of research problems.

It should be noted that a specialization of the techniques of quantification needs to be complemented by a range of other research techniques, both generalized and specialized, thereby making possible a greater range of versatility in research. To the extent that the case study method is neglected in the methodological development in sociology, to mention only one technique that is of special relevance to the present discussion, there will be a reduction in the research versatility in sociology. The question that should be considered is, "Can sociology afford a reduction in research versatility in light of a diversifying array of problems of investigation?"

It is the reduction in research versatility that becomes threatening to the general purpose of sociology when, as has been pointed out by House, (49, p. 3) Ogburn, (90, p. 15) Young and Oberdorfer, (137, p. 383) and Burgess (17, p. 22) that no single research approach is adequate to the task of investigating all of the diverse areas of sociological interest. As no single research approach is sufficient for all of sociology, a methodological pluralism should be encouraged. Such a methodological

pluralism is consistent with the position taken by Burgess and others that the methods of sociological investigation may be used to supplement one another. Rather than increasing the specialization of a single research approach, as Hinkle and Hinkle suggest is happening with quantification, a refinement of a large range of research tools would, therefore, seem to be more appropriate to the investigation of diverse problem areas.

McKinney John McKinney's comprehensive discussion of methodology in the 1957 publication, Modern Sociological Theory, (75, pp. 186-234) treats the rise of quantification by citing the controversy between the neo-positivists and the rejectors of the neo-positivist position. The controversy, carried out with fervor during the 1920's and 1930's, began to subside, according to McKinney, as a growing number of sociologists recognized that the controversy was based on a false dichotomy. With the controversy defined as pointless because of an either-or oversimplification, a "middle range" position began to emerge where both extremes were rejected and enumerative as well as other approaches were considered acceptable in sociological research (75, p. 202). However, McKinney agrees that "In the epoch since World War I, empirical and quantitative research in sociology has experienced promising growth" (75, p. 188). With this growth in quantitative research there has been a continuing interest in, and use of the case study approach, according to McKinney who then concludes that the case study approach must be considered among the useful tools of sociological research (75, p. 234).

Several writers have suggested that the controversy surrounding

positivism has become dormant, but McKinney points out that an open acceptance of research approaches has resulted from the acknowledgement of the either-or dichotomy as fallacious. Is McKinney's appraisal of the resolution of the controversy accurate? Certainly Lundberg (70) has not adopted the "middle range" position, nor is the "middle range" position a part of the graduate training at several recognized universities. One staff member from a major Western university informed this writer that his sociologist colleagues were highly in favor of the "middle range" methodological position. However, another sociologist from an Eastern university told this writer of the graduate student who, when asked by one of his professors what he planned to do for his dissertation answered, "a multiple regression." When the professor asked the student what his research problem was, the professor was told that the problem was yet to be selected.

From the comments of these two professional informants it would appear that McKinney was a little premature in stating that a "middle range" position is emerging, for ten years later the same statement can be made but only with reservations. Nevertheless, the notion of a "middle range" methodological position is a worthwhile objective even if it is not an accurate description of sociological methodology today. The "middle range" position is supported by this writer, although at times, when confronted by a strong neo-positivist, it may appear as if the anti-quantitative flag is being waved.

Gittler, Manheim, and Stouffer The discussion of "general theoretical orientations in methodology" contained in Gittler and

Manheim's chapter, "Sociological Theory", the first chapter of Review of Sociology: Analysis of a Decade, (42, p. 4) reviews the debate over whether scientific procedures are universals, or whether the social sciences must develop procedures peculiar to their problems. As one might expect, the debate is engaged in by representative spokesmen of the pro- and anti-positivistic positions. Although the exchange, as it is summarized, is stimulating to read, there is no clear champion emerging in the debate, but instead there is the suggestion of a reproachment, between the opponents. It appears, however, to be a compromising reproachment, at least for the anti-positivists, for the section is terminated with a discussion of positivism and the reader is referred to Chapter 2, entitled "Quantitative Methods" (41, p. 25).

Samuel Stouffer, one of the major proponents of neo-positivism as identified by Gittler and Manheim, is the author of the chapter on quantitative methods. He begins his treatment of the subject by stating "The advances in the development of quantitative methods since World War II and their applications in the social sciences, including sociology, are chronicled, piecemeal, in thousands of publications" (117, p. 25). One certainly cannot disagree with this statement, for as Stouffer suggests, quantitative research has come to dominate a major portion of the research output in sociology. Later in his chapter the reader is given a clue to the complex of organizations, many of which are university affiliated, that specialize in quantitative research in the social sciences and are largely responsible for swelling the quantitative research output (117, p. 48). In concluding, Stouffer feels that it is necessary to ease

the reader's mind about the large scale research empires, but this attempt has the effect of raising doubts rather than giving assurance.

The defense of organizational research in sociology by Stouffer is no doubt a partial reaction to the discussion of this subject by Alfred McClung Lee (64, pp. 701-707) where the charge is made that "... Group research has now so absorbed the interests, aspirations and resources of graduate departments of sociology that the training of individual well-rounded journeymen in sociological research is being eclipsed" (64, p. 705). As Lee makes clear, first hand observation is both underrated and delegated to subordinates, decision making is the product of committees, increased inflexibility in research comes to dominate and grant getting becomes an organizational imperative.

The criticism that is most relevant to the present discussion is that with the growth in group research, most of which is quantitative in approach, there is an underrating of observation. One is reminded of the marginal notes and comments that interviewers include on their survey schedules, many of which are highly relevant to the question being investigated, but which are left out of the research reports because they are not representative. Certainly the argument against including the observations of interviewers as a part of research reports has some validity, but the comments themselves should awaken the researchers to the idea that by leaving observation out of the research study they are being highly selective in their data gathering. Frequently the data gathering proceeds without the researchers having first hand experience in the social system being investigated and therefore they remain confident that the data which are being obtained are complete in themselves. If

the researchers would experience the social system that they wish to investigate through direct experience, rather than indirectly through their interviewer's comments, it could be that observation would play a greater role in sociological research.

Lazarsfeld Writing in support of quantitative research in Sociology Today, Paul Lazarsfeld (63, pp. 39-78) contends that historical and case studies will continue to be a part of the research techniques of sociology and holds that the proponents of these techniques need not fear imperialism from the supporters of the quantitative approach. On the contrary, Lazarsfeld says that quantitative research is not guilty of imperialism at all but is unjustly accused of being imperialistic as a result of the misunderstanding of those sociologists not acquainted with quantitative procedures. "Modern methods of quantitative research are considerably more subtle and flexible than the inexperienced critic assumes" (63, p. 45). He then goes on to elaborate this point at some length with examples from his own research. It is not until the end of his article that he mentions an example of sociological research that is other than quantitative, (63, p. 78) and this reference is only a brief mention of Whyte's methodological appendix included in the second edition of Street Corner Society (133). Such is the attention given to the case approach in the chapter entitled "Methodolgy" in a volume sponsored by the American Sociological Association and edited by the journal editors from the American Sociological Review and Sociometry.

Certainly Lazarsfeld's contention that quantitative research is both subtle and flexible must be agreed with, even by sociologists who are not masters of the techniques of quantitative research. Frequently, however,

the control of the subtle and flexible techniques of quantitative research is held by a host of workers, from interviewers to coders, from card punchers to programers, from statistical advisers to student assistants, all of whom have more to do with collection and processing of the quantitative data than does the sociologist. That some sociologists have control over their quantitative data should not be questioned and these skillful masters of quantification are able to adapt the subtle and flexible characteristics of quantitative analysis to solve some perplexing sociological problems. Other sociologists, scarcely able to calculate the most elementary statistics, have earned advanced degrees by processing quantitative data in an unwitting fashion and in this way have perpetuated the myth of the "goodness" of quantification. For such inept positivists, quantification must be judged to be negatively subtle and quite inflexible.

The point that should be emphasized here is that not all sociologists are skillful manipulators of quantitative data but many possess the talents necessary for either working with historical data or gathering and analyzing data about social structure by way of case study method. To the extent that young sociologists are forced to produce quantitative studies and neglect other avenues of social research, quantitative imperialism must be said to exist. Imperialism of this sort is implicit in that it is exercised by granting agencies, by publishers and editors, and by professors who demand that their students tow the quantitative line. More will be said about the imperialistic pressures of positivism in relation to the classification and analysis of articles appearing in three major sociological journals in the 1960's.

Faris and Riley In the introductory article of the recent publication, Handbook of Sociology, (33) Robert Faris takes a positivistic stance but agrees that precision and objectivity, i.e., quantitative procedures, have to be set aside in order to study natural social developments. Departure from quantitative procedures, termed "informal method" by Faris, is necessitated by situations where quantification is inappropriate or difficult to employ. "It should be mentioned, of course, that sociological methods will for some time and perhaps indefinitely permit the employment of informal methods..." (33, p. 23).

The point raised by Faris when he suggests that there are problems in studying natural social development by way of quantitative procedures is developed further by Matilda White Riley in a later chapter of the same volume (102, p. 996). In her discussion of observation versus questioning, she points out that observation data (usually non-quantitative) and questioning data (usually quantitative) differ in focus by concentrating on different sets of social system properties. "Observation focuses on the network of overt actions and reactions among group members - the objective properties of the system. Questioning deals with the subjective network of orientations and interpersonal relationships - the underlying ideas and feelings and perceptions of members, their hopes and fears, their dispositions to act toward others and to define and evaluate them in various ways" (102, p. 996). The objective properties of a social system and the subjective properties of the actors within the social system are tied together and therefore, "The two methods parallel and supplement one another, and both are sometimes necessary for full understanding" (102, p. 996).

Faris' tentative statement about the continuation of "informal methods" indicates a positivistic rigidity of thought but it also suggests that there is a doubt as to whether the quantitative approach can be universally applied. Whether research procedures other than quantitative procedures should be termed "informal methods" or even if they can be lumped together is interesting, but not a crucial point at this juncture. What is crucial is that there is an admission that areas of sociological interest, called "natural social developments" by Faris, should be studied by techniques other than those of quantification.

The same point is made much more clearly by Riley when she states that observational data and questioning data are different in that they focus on different sets of properties contained within the social system. The objective properties of the social system should be studied by observation, which may contain some enumeration but which is largely descriptive in form. Structural properties relative to the organization of the social system are best obtained in this way. Accordingly, the observer is interested in patterns of overt action rather than the actor's predisposition to act. From observing the patterns of overt action, the observer is able to isolate the objective properties of the social system.

Subjective properties of the social system are at one and the same time properties of the individual actors and the social system. However, the subjective properties, or orientations for action, are expressed by the actors within the social system rather than directly through patterns of interpersonal activity. The sociologist interested in the subjective properties of the social system has to gather together the verbal responses of the system actors and employ some way of finding patterns in

the responses. One common and effective way is to use statistical tests in order to find relationships and the significance of the expressed subjective responses.

If a full understanding is the goal of the researcher in his study of a social system, both observation and questioning are sometimes necessary according to Riley. This writer would go further and suggest that both observation and questioning are always necessary in the study of a system for the two approaches not only supplement each other, a point to which even Lundberg agreed at one time, (69) but they are mutually interdependent and essential to the sociologist desiring to study the whole social system.

Summary and implications The present methodological survey has, to this point, traced the evaluations of sociological methodology as presented in nine of the important works tracing the development of sociology during the period of four decades. Interlaced with the review of methodological evaluations of the last forty years has been a running commentary designed to elaborate a portion of the present writer's methodological position. Summarizing the main points highlighted from each of the works and stating the implications of each of the points summarized is in order before proceeding to the next phase of the methodological survey. A presentation of a summary and implication for each of the works considered above follows. It should be clear to the reader that the first part of this methodological review has proceeded with a point of view. The point of view taken has, it is hoped, not been negative, but instead may be termed persistently positive. It has been the purpose of the methodological review to raise numerous points supporting the adoption of a

methodological pluralism in sociology and to the extent that this purpose was achieved, the presentation may be said to qualify as being persistently positive in point of view.

The reasons supporting the adoption of a methodological pluralism in sociology should be restated in summary form before proceeding with the methodological classification of articles appearing in three major sociological journals during the years 1960 - 1966. Accordingly, the reasons for supporting a position of methodological pluralism in sociology are summarized as follows:

1. Quantitative and non-quantitative research have a widely recognized potential for supplementing one another.

2. Acquaintance knowledge, preferably documented acquaintance knowledge as obtained through case studies, provides the basis for quantitative problem formation and inference drawing.

3. Neither quantitative nor non-quantitative techniques are applicable to all areas of sociological inquiry, but instead each is adapted to certain kinds of inquiry.

4. Statistics may be used to verify existing knowledge, but is limited as a tool of discovery, whereas case study cannot be used to verify existing knowledge, but is well adapted to discovery.

5. Quantitative and non-quantitative methods presuppose different conceptions of the subject matter of sociology. Both methods and their related conceptions of sociological subject matter contain some elements of correctness and should therefore not be considered mutually exclusive.

6. Diversification of problem areas in sociology calls for diversification in methods of investigation rather than a specialization of a single methodological approach.

7. During the last ten years a middle range methodological position is supposed to have been emerging in the neo-positivism versus anti-positivism controversy. However, there is some indication that the movement toward a middle range methodological position needs some added impetus.

8. Not all sociologists are skilled in techniques of quantification; accordingly, there should be a recognition that the areas of non-quantitative investigation offer opportunities to the sociologist not skilled in or inclined to quantitative research for making a contribution to the growing body of sociological knowledge.

9. Non-quantitative research is best adapted to the study of objective properties of social systems, and quantitative techniques are well suited for studying the subjective social system characteristics. But, to the extent that either approach is neglected, there will be a lack of balance in the developing knowledge of social system properties.

1929 - Lundberg

Summary - Quantification will increase with the "natural science" approach; other research techniques may be considered as supplementary to quantification.

Implications - With the rise of the "natural science" approach to a position of dominance (70) there is a decline in the supplementary relationship that should exist between quantification and the other techniques of sociological research.

1936 - House

Summary - Advocates of the case study approach lack agreement as to the acceptable procedures and a recognized core of spokesmen to clarify their approach, whereas the statistical approach is precise in its procedures having a recognized core of spokesmen promoting neo-positivism. Nevertheless, the case study approach has a place in sociological investigation for it can supply the "acquaintance knowledge" on which quantification depends.

Implications - It would appear that the case study approach has to engage in some serious evaluation of procedures and develop a more consistent methodological position. Such a reassessment could come about with a shift toward greater methodological pluralism and, if the case study approach is encouraged, a growing body of documented acquaintance knowledge could be a tremendous asset to the efforts of researchers engaged in quantification.

1940 - Barnes et al.

Summary - Some sociologists identified as advocates of quantification have reservations regarding the wholesale use of statistics. Ogburn indicates that statistics is limited in its discovery

capacity, cannot be applied to some areas of inquiry and can only be used purposefully in conjunction with non-quantitative methods. Young and Oberdorfer give a helpful survey of the advantages and limitations of the case study and statistical methods.

Implications - The recognition of the interdependence of quantification and non-quantification together with an identification of the advantages and limitations of the two methods seems clear to some sociologists but unacceptable to others. Sociologists recognizing the interdependence of quantification and non-quantification in light of the advantages and limitations inherent in both approaches acknowledge that both are useful for certain types of data gathering.

1945 - Burgess

Summary - Different methods of sociological investigation presuppose different conceptions of society. Statistical investigation suggests an atomistic conception of society that may be called the nominalist view. The case study approach is consistent with an organic view of society that may be called the realist view. Some sociological problems demand the realist view, with the methodology that follows from that view, and others are better approached by way of the nominalist view and its methodology. The two views may be seen to be complementary rather than conflicting.

Implications - Sociologists must realize the relationship between the methodologies and the conceptions of the nature of the subject matter of sociology. If this relationship is recognized, there should be a simultaneous recognition that a single methodological approach is not possible in sociology unless there is a willingness to neglect a large part of the problem areas demanding investigation. Again, the case study and statistical approaches are seen as complementary.

1954 - Hinkle and Hinkle

Summary - There has been a diversification of the problems of sociological investigation and a specialization of research methods. The specialization has resulted in an emphasis on and extensive use of quantification.

Implications - The methodological specialization appears to be misplaced for in attempting to increase research precision sociologists have decreased their versatility in investigation of a diversifying range of problems.

1957 - McKinney (Becker and Boskoff)

Summary - A "middle range" position is emerging in the controversy between the strong neo-positivists and the anti-positivists as these extreme positions are seen to be unsupportable because they are based on an either-or oversimplification.

Implications - It is possible that McKinney is premature in stating that the pro- and anti-positivism controversy has been resolved by the recognition that the controversy rests on a false dichotomy but the "middle range" methodological position is something that we should strive for in sociology.

1957 - Gittler, Manheim, and Stouffer (Gittler)

Summary - In reviewing the positions of pro- and anti-positivism there is an indication that a reproachment is developing but the discussion in question seems to favor a reproachment where positivism is dominant and carried out by large scale research organizations.

Implications - The dominance of positivism and group research leads to an underrating of observation and the place of observation in sociological research. Observation is perhaps neglected because researchers lack first hand contact with the objects of their investigations.

1959 - Lazarsfeld

Summary - Quantitative research is not imperialistic but has received this reputation from sociologists lacking a complete understanding of the subtle and flexible methods of quantification investigation.

Implications - Not all sociologists possess the qualifications necessary to permit them to become skillful in quantitative research but they may have skills in the use of other research procedures. Quantitative research is imperialistic to the extent that it promotes investigators to neglect talents and interests related to research approaches other than those of quantification.

1964 - Faris and Riley

Summary - Research procedures other than those of quantification may be best suited for studying the objective properties of a social system, whereas the quantitive techniques may be better utilized in studying the subjective aspects of the actors within the social system. The two approaches may be said to be supplementary.

Implications - The increase in interest in and use of quantitative procedures has resulted in an *understanding of subjective social system properties with a consequent slighting of objective social system properties. Both questioning and observation with their respective data yields are needed if a complete understanding of social systems is to be achieved. (*exaggerated)

Methodological survey - contemporary perspectives

In the preceding pages the indication of a trend in sociological research toward increasing use of quantitative techniques with a subsequent reduction in the use of non-quantitative techniques has been based on the methodological discussions contained in nine selected works appraising the state and development of sociology during a forty year period. Such a historical perspective of sociological methodology has been useful in that the growing dominance of quantification was noted along with critical discussion of this trend. Additionally, several relevant arguments for methodological pluralism were obtained from this historical review of methodological appraisals.

What is needed to complete the methodological survey is an examination of the types of research methodologies currently being used in sociology. It would be convenient if a work presenting the methodologies used in contemporary sociology by source and frequency was available but no such presentation has been located by this writer. Considering this aspect of the methodological review essential, a project was undertaken, with the help of a student assistant, to classify the methodologies employed in the the articles appearing in three major sociological journals during the period 1960 through 1966. A classification of sociological

articles according to their methodological direction, will, it is reasoned, yield a pattern of methodological use characteristic of the sociological research current in the 1960's.

The three sociological journals that are used as sources for the articles to be classified are: the American Sociological Review, the American Journal of Sociology, and the Journal of Social Forces. Selection of the above journals as sources for the articles to be classified according to methodology was based on their prestige and recognition as outlets for current research in sociology. The prestige and recognition of all three journals has been longstanding as noted by Harry Elmer Barnes in his introductory remarks to part six of his work, An Introduction to the History of Sociology (6, pp. 742-743).

The American Sociological Review gains its reputation as an important sociological journal from its being the official organ of the American Sociological Association, and further, as Barnes indicates, "The American Sociological Review is the only one journal in which adequate attention is given to the reviewing of current sociological literature" (6, p.743). Because of its official tie with the American Sociological Association and the quality of its contents, the American Sociological Review has a wide circulation and a general acceptance as a non-specialized sociological journal. It was therefore selected as one of the representative journals to be used in the methodological classification of articles appearing in the 1960's.

First published in 1895, the American Journal of Sociology is considered to be an outstanding sociological journal and has enjoyed this reputation since its founding by Albion W. Small. The prestige of the

American Journal of Sociology, published at the University of Chicago, and the Sociology Department at the University of Chicago may be said to have grown together. It will be recalled that the Sociology Department at the University of Chicago was singled out in 1936 by House as a principle exception to the quantitative research trend (48, p. 423). Even though Barnes gives his readers the assurance that the American Journal of Sociology has one of the best assortments of monographic articles, (6, p. 743) it should be noted that a non-quantitative bias might be present in this journal because of its affiliation with the Sociology Department at the University of Chicago, if the University of Chicago Sociology Department may be said to still remain as an exception to the quantitative research trend. Subject to this possible limitation, the American Journal of Sociology was chosen to be one of the journals used in the methodological classification of articles because of its seniority and general high caliber.

The Journal of Social Forces, published at the University of North Carolina, has a reputation for its excellence as a general sociological journal. Again Barnes' comment, "A very wide range of topics is dealt with in the Journal of Social Forces," (6, p. 743) may be taken as an authoritative judgment of the general recognition of this journal. As such, the Journal of Social Forces was selected as the third sociological journal to be included as a source of articles for methodological classification.

Limitations Before proceeding with an explication of the procedures used in classifying the journal articles, an acknowledgement of the limitations inherent in this survey of current sociological

methodology should be considered. The purpose of the classification of journal articles, it will be remembered, is to determine a pattern of methodological use characteristic of the research current in sociology. One evident limitation is related to the selection of the three journals as sources for the articles to be classified. A second limitation, that of possible bias in the selection prerogative of journal editors, is also part of the selection limitation. Still a third limitation may be noted in that the pattern of methodological use will emerge from the classification of relatively short research articles thereby possibly overlooking different methodological use patterns that might result from a classification of books and lengthy monographs. Other limitations, such as limitations relating to the categories used in the classification of articles, will be commented on later in the discussion of procedures.

It has already been stated, and to a limited extent supported, that the three sociological journals selected for the purpose of classification are general, respectable, and professionally accepted. Does the generalness of contents, respectability, and professional acceptance qualify the three journals in question, the American Sociological Review, the American Journal of Sociology, and the Journal of Social Forces, to be representative of all of American sociology? One would have to conclude that the three journals, their contents, and the methods exhibited by their contents are not representative of all of American sociology. However, it is reasoned that the three journals represent the mainstream of American sociology and therefore the selectivity limitation that is raised by the use of the three journals in question is that of omitting the fringe of sociological research and publication. Acknowledging this limitation as

a possible source of bias in generalizing about current methodological use patterns in sociology, the classification of articles from the three journals should be acceptable for the present purpose.

Editors are described as the gatekeepers of science as it is their task to screen information for professional publications (24, pp. 38-56). Diana Crane uses the idea of "gatekeepers of science" in an article describing some factors important in the selection of articles for scientific journals (21, pp. 195-201). By looking at selected social characteristics of authors of scientific articles appearing in three leading social science journals, American Sociological Review, Sociometry, and American Economic Review, Crane concludes that editors favor articles with methodology, theoretical orientation, and style of writing similar to their own, and are further influenced by personal ties, academic affiliation, and professional age, all of which may be directly or indirectly evidenced in manuscripts being judged (21, p. 200). Accordingly, the editor's professional bias may well have a considerable impact on the contents of a professional journal.

To the extent that the gatekeepers of science represented in the three journals used in the present survey of methodological usage conform to the behavior patterns for editors uncovered by Crane, another selectivity bias must be acknowledged in using the journals as a source of articles. There has already been a suggestion that the editors of the American Sociological Review and Sociometry were showing methodological bias in editing the work, Sociology Today, (77 et al.) because the chapter entitled "Methodology" by Paul Lazarsfeld dealt almost solely with quantification. Contrary to Lazarsfeld's denial of quantitative imperialism,

it has been suggested that implicit imperialism exists and is in part perpetrated by editors. Although Crane does not specify the particular methodological orientations of the editors of the three journals that she reviewed, she is quite clear in indicating that editor's preference in methodology has an effect on the selection of articles.

> As the gatekeepers of science, journal editors are able to screen the scientific output of a distipline, but the research that is permitted to circulate, or is restricted from circulation, must be in line with the views and activities of the professionals in the discipline. To an extent, an editor of a professional journal must be like a congressman at election time in that he must guard his independence of action and at the same time serve his constituents. Recognizing the editor bias is not to say that the scientific output of professional journals is wholly subject to the whims and fancies of editors. Instead, the editor may be seen as a part of the scientific establishment and, as such, he may be said to work to further the goals and views of the establishment. When editors conform to the will of the scientific establishment, or in other words the mainstream of the discipline, the editor bias may be seen as a mainstream bias consistent with the mainstream image of the journals. It is therefore reasoned that the editor bias operating in the three journals in question is consistent with the mainstream of sociological thought with which the three journals have been identified. To the extent that this reasoning is correct, it may be said that the editor bias does not present a serious limitation in the classification of journal articles.

Some research does not readily lend itself to abbreviated presentation but instead needs a more lengthy explication. Such research

efforts are best published in book form or in relatively long monographs. Noting that a portion of the research output of sociology is not prepared for journal publication, it may be said that any statement about the methodology of sociology that is based solely on the pattern emerging from a classification of the research published in journals is subject to error. It would seem, however, that because the extent of the error is unknown it would be best to place a limitation on the statements describing the current methodology in sociology that are arrived at by classifying journal articles by saying that these findings are based on short periodical articles and may not be extrapolated to books and longer monographs. Such a statement of limitation is quite acceptable and does not impair the present purpose.

The mainstream positions of the three journals used in the classification of journal articles in the 1960's, reinforced by the assumed mainstream bias of the journal editors and coupled with the omission of books and long monographs from the classification, places some restrictions on the present means of ascertaining the pattern of methodological use in sociology in the 1960's. Accordingly, the pattern of methodological use that will be presented below must be considered within its limitations as not being generalizable to the whole of sociology but at the same time may be seen as helpful in suggesting what the methodological use pattern for the whole of sociology might be. Certainly the methodological use pattern presented below may be said to be representative of mainstream journal sociology in America and as such it is representative of a large segment of the sociological output.

Categories Before classifying the journal articles, the question

of whether to create a classificatory schema prior to the classification or articles or to let the articles themselves suggest the categories for their classification was considered. It was decided to have the articles suggest the categories necessary for their classification in order to avoid the possible problem of creating a series of categories beforehand and then finding them either inadequate or inappropriate. Using this procedure for creating the classificatory schema may be said to have some shortcomings in that it appears to be a directionless way of approaching the task in question, but it also has a great deal to recommend it in that the flexibility of category creating gives a greater classification accuracy than category cramming. When the classificatory schema is determined prior to the actual classification there is frequently the problem of trying to fit that which is, the item being classified, into that which should be, the classificatory schema. The practice of category cramming is not completely eliminated by developing categories as they are needed but it does ameliorate the category cramming problem a great deal.

Using the system of category creating resulted in a schema of eight categories with all but three of the categories being dichotomous. The three non-dichotomous categories are necessary in order to classify all of the articles appearing in the three journals, but unlike the other categories, the theee non-dichotomous categories are also non-methodological. Some articles were found to be concerned with the elaboration or clarification of sociological theory. As such, these articles had no methodology per se, although they may have suggested a methodological

orientation that would logically follow from the theoretical framework being considered. Articles of this sort were classified as "theory." Other articles were designed to bring together research and theory relative to a single problematic. Again, such articles may have had reference to various methodologies in the literature surveyed, but could not be said to represent a single methodology. Articles of this sort were classified as "survey of literature". The third grouping of articles was concerned specifically with methodology but not with employing the methodology with which they were concerned. Instead, the purpose of these articles was to elaborate a specific technique or procedure to be used in research. Articles of this sort were considered non-methodological in use even though their specific intent was to elaborate a method of research and they were therefore placed into a "method" category.

Apart from the three categories of "theory", "survey of literature", and "method", the other six categories in the classificatory schema are methodological in designation. The three base categories considered are as follows: 1) empirical, 2) historical, and 3) comparative. Each of these categories is dichotomized by the quantitative / non-quantitative division that was seen as being so pervasive in the historical methodological survey presented earlier. In combining the three base methodological categories with the dichotomous categories, six categories are created and with the addition of the three non-methodological categories, an eight item classificatory schema is created as illustrated in Figure 1.

The three non-methodological use classification, "theory", "survey of literature", and "method" are sufficiently self-explanatory that a detailed elaboration of them would be superfluous. One would expect

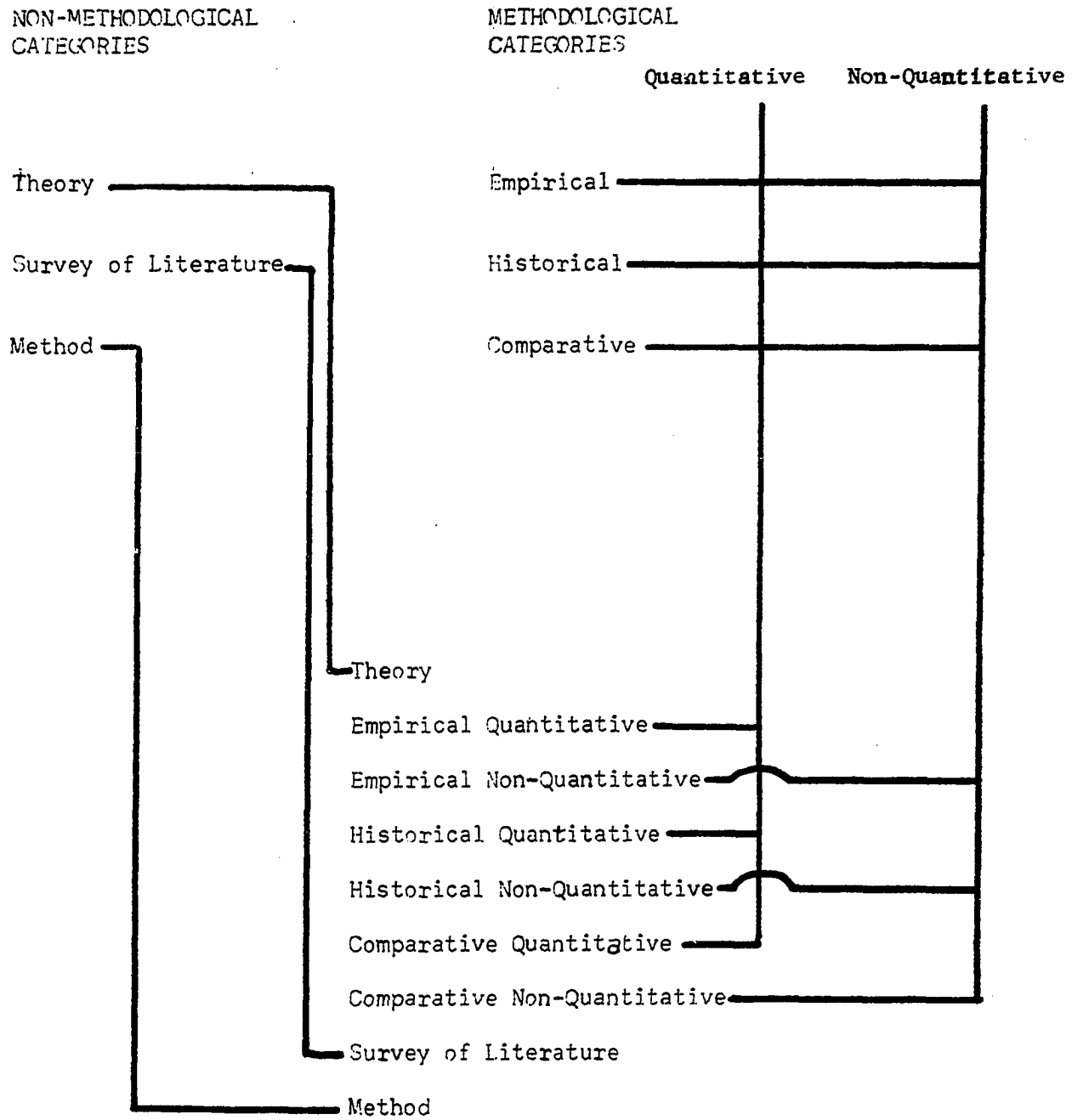


Figure 1. The eight item classificatory schema

reference to theory, other literature, and methods related to the problem being discussed in most of the articles surveyed but, as mentioned above, the three categories are reserved for articles whose primary purpose is to deal with sociological theory, to survey of literature, or to elaborate a research procedure or technique. Used carefully, these non-methodological use categories allow for the classification of articles not having an explicit methodological direction.

Unlike the non-methodological use classifications, the methodological classifications are not wholly self-explanatory. Therefore, a definitional discussion of the three base categories (empirical, historical, and comparative) as well as a clarification of the two dichotomous categories (quantitative and non-quantitative) is necessary here. In this definitional discussion the reader should become familiar with the operational uses of the categories having methodological reference.

The term "empirical" may be said to have a range of meanings both in its vernacular and in its scientific uses. In the scientific range of meanings there exists an ill-defined continuum extending from equating empirical with controlled experimentation to admitting all observational information as empirical. As the term is used here it is in accord with the latter end of the continuum and is in agreement with the definition of "empiricism" stated by John C. McKinney. "Empiricism is a way of thinking and working with data. It indicates an attitude-complex characterized by the utmost faith in the senses, firm belief in the power of observation, willingness to be ruled by observable evidence, and belief that scientific conclusions should never get beyond the realm of

extrapolation and that the rational universe of science is nothing more than habitual association of certain ideas in the mind of the perceiver" (75, p. 190). Another definition that is in agreement with the present use of the term states, "In modern usage the adjective empirical, in its combination with various other nouns, appears to denote observations and propositions primarily based on sense experiences and or derived from such experiences by methods of inductive logic including mathematics and statistics" (43, p. 237).

Stating that the term "empirical" refers to knowledge gained through observation or sense experience presents somewhat of a problem in defining the other two base categories, historical and comparative. Historical knowledge rests on an experiential foundation and therefore may seem as a part of empirical knowledge. As a sub-type of empirical knowledge, historical knowledge rests primarily on secondary sources rather than first hand experience in creating a reconstructed description of past events. In a similar way the term comparative refers to a specialized use of the empirical knowledge such that the empirical data from two, or more, separate sources are simultaneously examined in order to discern both the similarities and differences in the two, or more, bodies of data. It may be said, therefore, that the three base methodological categories are not comparable in that the empirical category has a more inclusive reference than the other two base categories. Incomparability is seen in that the historical category may be viewed as a sub-type of the empirical category as it has been defined and the comparative category may be considered a special use of the empirical.

A special limitation must be placed, therefore, on the empirical

category so as to reduce it to the level of the other two base categories. By limiting the use of the term empirical to direct observation by way of the investigator's perception or through the use of instruments, such as questionnaires and tests, it is possible to restrict the empirical category relative to the historical category. In a similar fashion, reserving the term empirical to data that are gathered from a single investigation, the empirical category may be separated from the comparative category. Because these operational limitations modify the more general meaning of the term empirical, the operational definition will be assigned a subscript and will appear as $empirical_1$.

The operational definitions of the three base categories are summarized as follows:

empirical$_1$: observational data that are gathered directly from a single investigation*

historical : observational data that are reconstructed by way of secondary sources in order to discern past events**

comparative: observational data from two or more separate studies that are simultaneously examined in order to determine similarities and differences

*longitudinal studies are included in this classification for they are considered as single investigations

**sociologists are concerned with historical data in order to ascertain patterns of action or organization and not with the gathering of historical data as an end in itself

Each of the above base categories is coupled with one of the dichotomous categories, "quantitative / non-quantitatve", in completing the classificatory schema. The term "quantitative" may be said to be one of the most loosely defined terms in sociological methodology as well as being one of the most frequently used. Quantitative relates to

quantity and more directly to the measurement of quantities of something. However, it becomes difficult to discern the scope of the interest of the quantitative approach in quantities, according to some methodologists, for the reference to "more" or "less" represents a crude quantity that may be more carefully measured if the proper measuring instrument is employed. If such a broad interpretation of quantity is accepted, as some neo-positivists would insist it must, there is no dichotomy of quantitative and non-quantitative. Instead, it is only possible to speak of crude and exact reference to quantities.

In order to see the distinction between "quantitative" and "non-quantitative" it is necessary to move from the question of whether or not the object of study has some element of quantity, for if the extremely broad interpretation of quantity is accepted, it must be agreed that most observations relate to quantity in some manner or another. The shift in focus that must be recognized if the "quantitative" and "non-quantitative" distinction is to stand calls for the intent of the investigator to be considered as the basis for the distinction rather than trying to find a distinction in the data themselves. A non-sociological example may illustrate the "quantitative" vs. "non-quantitative" distinction rising out of the investigator's intent.

Picture a large span bridge with huge supporting beams and a heavy latticework canopy. Two investigators wish to study the bridge, one using the quantitative approach and the other using the non-quantitative approach. The investigator wishing to study the bridge in terms of its quantities will measure lengths, widths, and angles, as well as calculate

weight in tons. The report of this investigator will be quantitative in accord with the investigator's intent. The other investigator wishing to study the bridge non-quantitatively will not deny that the bridge has quantities, but instead will concentrate on other characteristics of the bridge such as the changing appearance of the bridge by time of day and by season of the year. The report of the second investigator is non-quantitative because the investigator's research intent was to focus on characteristics that were not directly quantitative. Nevertheless, the non-quantitative investigation could have reference to the bridge appearing smaller after a heavy snow than on a bright summer day. Such a brief reference to quantity does not subvert the intent of the investigator or place his investigation into a "crude quantification" classification. Instead, the quantitative / non-quantitative interest, as would be evidenced in the hypothetical research reports, may be said to represent a meaningful distinction of the two investigators' intents relative to their concern with the same object of study.

As should be evident, the quantitative approach in sociology is most clearly tied to the neo-positivist position and the non-quantitative to the case study approach. Frequently reference is made by neo-positivists and other to the dichotomy "quantitative vs. qualitative." Because the term "qualitative" suggests evaluation and subjectivity it is not accepted as the opposite of quantitative in the present study. To look at the non-quantitative characteristics of an object does not mean that an investigator sacrifices his objectivity or engages in evaluation. Return to the example of the non-quantitative investigator concerned with studying the bridge and its appearance by time of day and season of the

year. When the investigator says that the bridge appears smaller after a heavy snow than on a bright summer day he is not being subjective. He is stating the appearance of the bridge objectively without engaging in evaluation or judgment involving his subjective point of view. If, however, the investigator said that he liked the bridge when it was covered with snow better than he did during the bright summer day he would be speaking subjectively and qualitatively. To the extent that the investigator avoids such subjective departures and limits his remarks to reporting what he observes, his work would have to be considered non-quantitative rather than qualitative.

The intent of the investigator as evidenced in his research report may be said to provide the basis for the quantitative / non-quantitative dichotomy. It is further asserted that both approaches are, at least ideally, non-evaluative such that the quantitative measures are not distorted by the investigator's bias and that the non-quantitative approach is not distorted by the investigator's subjective digressions.

The eight categories comprising the classificatory schema emerged from patterns of methodological use exhibited by the articles contained in the journals being used as data sources. With the exception of the three non-methodological categories of "theory", "survey of literature", and "method", the categories are arranged dichotomously with the categories "quantitative" and "non-quantitative" ordering the base categories of "empirical", "historical", and "comparative". The procedure used in the classification of journal articles will be presented next, followed by a presentation of the methodological use patterns found to prevail in the journals in question during the 1960's.

Procedures The classification of journal articles by way of the classificatory scheme discussed above was done by a senior level sociology student* under the direction of the present writer. During the early stages of the project the classification was done with extensive cooperation such that the articles were scanned and discussed so as to create workable categories and to recognize and attempt to overcome some of the problems of the task at hand. All of the categories were created in the classification of articles appearing in the American Sociological Review, Volumes 25-31, with the exception of the "historical non-quantitative" category that was not filled out until the classification of articles appearing in the Journal of Social Forces.

Classification proceeded by scanning and assigning each article to a category, working in order first through the American Sociological Review, then through the American Journal of Sociology, and finally through the Journal of Social Forces. All articles appearing in the American Sociological Review, Volumes 25-31, (1960 - 1966), in the American Journal of Sociology, Volumes 65-71, (1960 - 1966), and in the Journal of Social Forces, Volumes 39-44, (1960 - 1961, 1965 - 1966) were classified in this manner. Both the American Sociological Review and the American Journal of Sociology are inclusive of 1960 - 1966, whereas the Journal of Social Forces follows a mid-year breaking point by volume so that the actual time period dealt with is less than the time period covered by the other two journals with one half of a year being omitted in 1960 and again in 1966. The omission resulted from the decision to follow the

*Steven Williams

volume division rather than the year division in classifying the articles for all three journals.

As indicated above, the articles were not read thoroughly, but were scanned, with special attention given to the section of each article dealing with purpose, procedures, and methods. When the decision was made as to where to place the article being classified, the article was placed into that category by being assigned the appropriate code number and this number was then recorded on a flow sheet designed to receive this information. When all of the articles were classified in this manner, the number of articles in each category by volume number for each journal was determined and percentages were calculated based on the total number of articles contained within each journal volume.

Methodological use patterns of the 1960's In order to ascertain the methodological use patterns of the 1960's, each of the three aforementioned journals will be discussed separately by volume and then the overall pattern for each of the journals will be considered. Following the presentation for the three journals, there will be an overview and implication discussion that will deal with the collective methodological use pattern that is suggested in the overall distribution of articles appearing in the three journals. Certain limited implication statements will be made in the discussion of the pattern of methodological use for each journal but the more inclusive statements of implication will be presented in summary form at the conclusion of the present section.

American Sociological Review Table 1 shows the number and per cent of American Sociological Review articles within each volume for Volumes 25-31 by nine categories. Forty-nine articles appear in Volume 25

Table 1. Per cent of American Sociological Review articles within each volume for volumes 25-31 by nine categories

Volume	1960, 25 N = 49		1961, 26 N = 55		1962, 27 N = 43		1963, 28 N = 53		1964, 29 N = 42		1965, 30 N = 42		1966, 31 N = 57		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Category*																
Methodological Use																
E. Q.	21	42.85	32	58.18	28	65.11	28	52.83	20	47.61	16	38.09	29	50.87	174	51.02
E. N.-Q.	--	-----	--	-----	1	2.32	--	-----	--	-----	1	2.38	4	7.01	6	1.75
H. Q.	9	18.36	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	1	1.75	10	2.93
H. N -Q.	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	---	-----
C. Q.	--	-----	4	7.27	3	6.97	4	7.54	3	7.14	2	4.76	3	5.26	19	5.57
C. N.-Q.	2	4.08	--	-----	--	-----	1	1.88	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	3	.87
Non-Methodological Use																
T.	12	24.48	15	27.27	10	23.25	15	28.30	10	23.80	15	35.71	11	19.29	88	25.80
S. of L.	5	10.20	4	7.27	--	-----	3	5.66	4	9.52	2	4.76	4	7.01	22	6.45
M.	--	-----	--	-----	1	2.32	2	3.77	5	11.90	6	14.28	5	8.77	19	5.57
Total	49	99.97	55	99.99	43	99.97	53	99.98	42	99.97	42	99.98	57	99.96	341	99.96
Methodological Use																
	31	63.26	36	65.45	32	74.41	33	62.26	23	54.76	19	45.23	37	64.91	212	62.17
Non-Methodological Use																
	18	36.73	19	34.54	11	25.58	20	37.73	19	45.23	23	54.76	20	35.08	129	37.82

*Category: E. Q. - empirical quantitative, E. N.-Q. - empirical non-quantitative, H. Q. - historical quantitative, H. N.-Q. - historical non-quantitative, C. Q. - comparative quantitative, C. N.-Q. - comparative non-quantitative, T. - theoretical, S. of L. - survey of literature, M. - methods.

out of which 42.85 per cent are "empirical quantitative." In contrast, the "empirical non-quantitative" category is empty and only the "historical quantitative" with 18.36 per cent and the "comparative non-quantitative" with 4.08 per cent are active among the methodological use categories. Both the "theoretical", with 24.48 per cent, and the "survey of literature", with 10.20 per cent, among the non-methodological use categories account for 34.68 per cent of the articles in Volume 25 indicating that the reporting of research is dominant in the volume and that empirical$_1$ quantification is by far the most prevalent type among the volume's methodological use categories.

Volume 26 shows the same general pattern as is found in Volume 25 with 58.18 per cent of the 55 articles being classified as "empirical quantitative." Of the other methodological use categories, only the "comparative quantitative" is filled with 7.27 per cent of the articles in this category. Again, the "theoretical" and the "survey of literature" categories are dominant among the non-methodological use categories with 27.27 per cent of the articles in Volume 26 classified as "theoretical" and 7.27 per cent as "survey of literature."

Of the 43 articles published in Volume 27, 65.11 per cent appear in the "empirical quantitative" category in contrast with 2.32 per cent, or one article, in the "empirical non-quantitative" category. The only other methodological use category filled is the "comparative quantitative" which makes up 6.97 per cent of the total articles. Still accounting for roughly one-fourth of the total articles, 23.25 per cent, is the "theoretical" category. In Volume 27 the "survey of literature" category is empty, and instead the "method" category is active with one article

found in that category.

There is a drop in the per cent of "empirical quantitative" articles in Volume 28 with 52.83 per cent of the 53 articles being classified in this category, but there is no difference in the number of "empirical quantitative" articles in Volumes 27 and 28 as each volume has 28 such articles. The "comparative" category is the only other methodological use category active in Volume 28 having 7.54 per cent of the articles classified as "comparative quantitative" and 1.88 per cent as "comparative non-quantitative." Still claiming approximately one-fourth of the articles, 28.30 per cent, the "theoretical" is accompanied by the other two non-methodological use categories with 5.66 per cent of the articles in Volume 28 classified as "survey of literature" and 3.77 per cent as "method", thereby accounting for the largest percent of non-methodological use articles found in Volumes 25 - 28.

Volume 29 shows a marked drop in the "empirical quantitative" articles with 47.61 per cent of the 42 articles in this category. The drop in the "empirical quantitative" articles is not, however, coupled with a rise in the other methodological use categories, as only the "comparative quantitative" category is active with 7.14 per cent of the articles for the volume. Among the non-methodological use categories, the "theoretical" remains largely constant with 23.80 per cent of the articles. In contrast, the per cent of "method" articles is up to 11.90 per cent and the "survey of literature" category rises to 9.52 per cent. Once again the combined non-methodological use categories show an increase over the earlier volumes of the 1960's by making up 45.27 per cent of the total articles in Volume 29, but still falling short of the single methodological

use category, "empirical quantitative", which boasts 47.61 per cent of the articles.

Volume 30, 1965, shows still a further shrinkage in the "empirical quantitative" articles with 38.09 per cent of the 42 articles in the volume categorized in this classification. One article, 2.38 per cent, is found in the "empirical non-quantitative" category thereby completing the methodological use categories with 19 articles, or 45.23 per cent, of the 42 articles in Volume 30. The non-methodological use categories show selective growth with 35.71 per cent of the articles appearing as "theoretical" and 14.28 per cent found in the "method" category. The articles in these two categories constitute 49.99 per cent of the total articles in Volume 30 and when the two "survey of literature" articles are added, the combined non-methodological use category is raised to a dominant position with 54.75 per cent of the total articles in the volume.

Several of the patterns of the previous volumes are altered in Volume 31 with a return of the "empirical quantitative" type to 50.87 per cent of the 57 total articles in the volume. The "empirical non-quantitative" category is at a new high in the volume also with 7.01 per cent of the total articles assigned to this type. Other methodological use categories are active in the volume with the "historical quantitative" having one article, 1.75 per cent and the "comparative quantitative" having three articles, 5.26 per cent. The "theoretical" type is at a new low having less than its usual one-fourth of the articles, 19.29 per cent, whereas the other non-methodological use categories, "survey of literature" and "method", remain fairly active with 7.01 per cent and 8.77 per cent of the articles respectively. With the return of the

"empirical quantitative" articles to the 50 per cent level in Volume 31 and the drop in the "theoretical" articles to under the 25 per cent level it would appear that a drop in the former and a rise in the latter in Volume 30 may be considered an atypical pattern.

Examining the several categories for the seven volumes gives another perspective to the methodological use patterns of the 1960's other than that indicated in the examination of volumes by categories. A line graph showing both the methodological and non-methodological use patterns for the American Sociological Review, Volumes 25-31, is shown in Figure 2. It is quite clear either by inspection of Table 1 or by studying the graphic illustration contained in Figure 2 that the "empirical quantitative" type of research overwhelmingly dominates the sociological scene as indicated by the pattern shown for the American Sociological Review. An average of 49.97 per cent of the articles appearing in Volumes 25-31 are "empirical quantitative" in contrast with 12.20 per cent for all other methodological use articles combined. In conclusion, it is obvious from the classification of articles appearing in the American Sociological Review that the empirical$_1$ quantitative techniques of sociological research nearly monopolize the sociological research of the 1960's.

American Journal of Sociology Table 2 indicates the number and percent of articles by nine categories within each volume for Volumes 65-71 of the American Journal of Sociology. Of the 29 articles contained in Volume 65, 51.72 per cent are in the "empirical quantitative" category and one article, 3.44 per cent, is in each of the methodological use categories of "empirical non-quantitative", "comparative quantitative", and "historical quantitative." In the non-methodological use categories, the "theoretical"

Table 2. Per cent of American Journal of Sociology articles within each volume for volumes 65-71 by nine categories

Volume	1960, 65 N = 29		1961, 66 N = 43		1962, 67 N = 53		1963, 68 N = 47		1964, 69 N = 45		1965, 70 N = 38		1966, 71 N = 37		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Category*																
Methodological Use																
E. Q.	15	51.72	23	53.49	30	56.60	26	55.31	35	77.77	22	57.89	25	67.56	176	60.27
E. N.-Q.	1	3.44	6	13.95	1	1.88	3	6.38	1	2.22	1	2.63	1	2.70	14	4.79
H. Q.	1	3.44	--	-----	--	-----	1	2.12	1	2.22	1	2.63	1	2.70	5	1.71
H. N.-Q.	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	---	-----
C. Q.	1	3.44	1	2.32	--	-----	2	4.25	2	4.44	1	2.63	1	2.70	8	2.74
C. N.-Q.	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	---	-----
Non-Methodological Use																
T.	10	34.48	9	20.93	19	35.84	11	23.40	5	11.11	7	18.42	5	13.51	66	22.60
S. of L.	1	3.44	3	6.97	2	3.77	1	2.12	--	-----	2	5.26	2	5.40	11	3.77
M.	--	-----	1	2.32	1	1.88	3	6.38	1	2.22	4	10.52	2	5.40	12	4.11
Total	29	99.96	43	99.98	53	99.97	47	99.96	45	99.98	38	99.98	37	99.97	292	99.99
Methodological Use																
	18	62.06	30	69.76	31	58.49	32	68.08	39	86.66	27	71.05	28	75.67	203	69.52
Non-Methodological Use																
	11	37.93	13	30.23	22	41.50	15	31.91	6	13.33	11	28.94	9	24.32	89	30.48

*Category: E. Q. - empirical quantitative, E. N.-Q. - empirical non-quantitative, H. Q. - historical quantitative, H. N.-Q. - historical non-quantitative, C. Q. - comparative quantitative, C. N.-Q. - comparative non-quantitative, T. - theoretical, S. of L. - survey of literature, M. - methods.

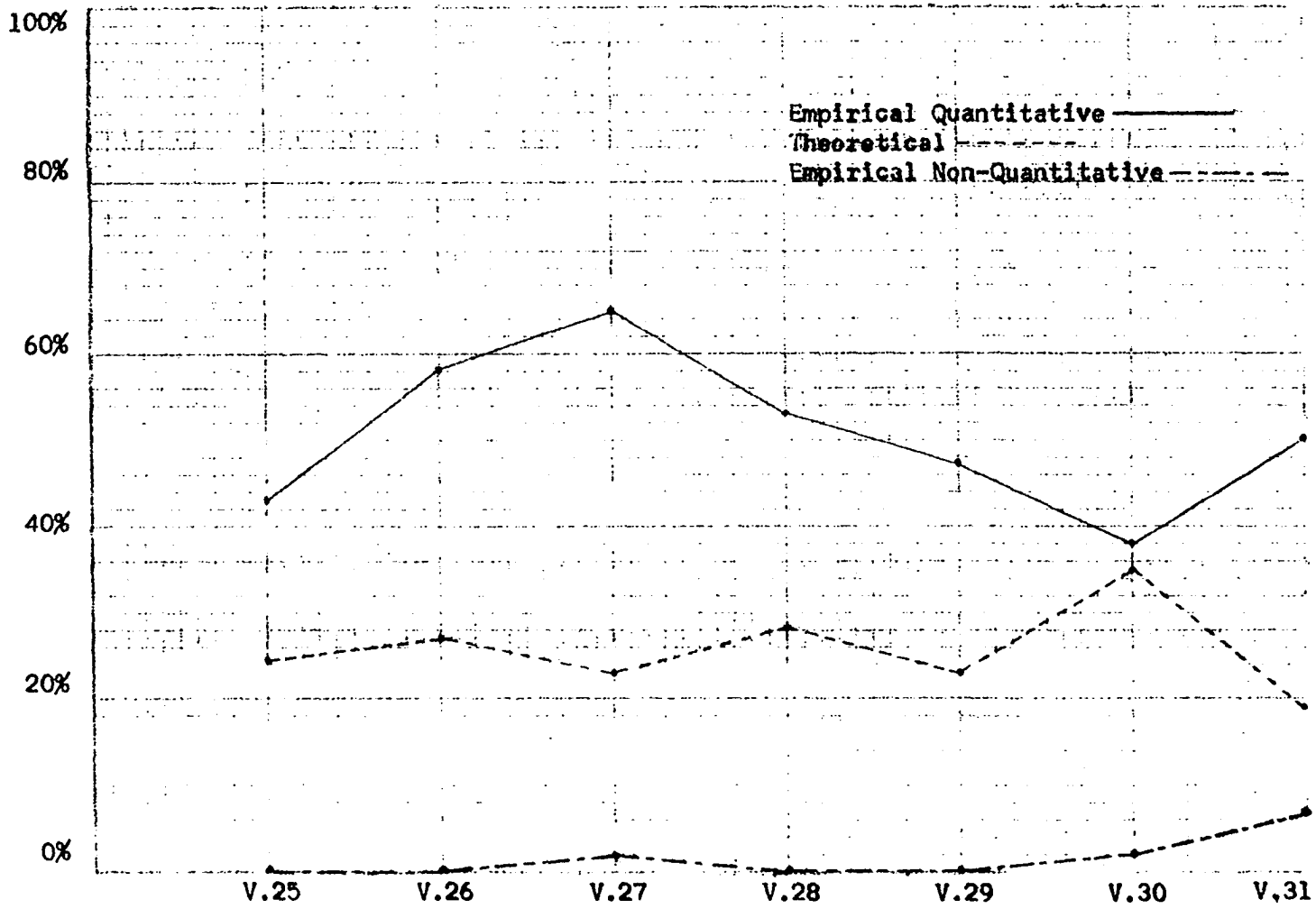


Figure 2. Per cent of American Sociological Review articles within each volume classified as Empirical Quantitative, Theoretical, and Empirical Non-Quantitative for Volumes 25 - 31

type is most prevalent with 34.48 per cent. Only one article is in the "survey of literature" category with the rest of the non-methodological use categories being empty. Both the "empirical quantitative" category, among the methodological use categories, and the "theoretical" category, among the non-methodological use categories, together account for 86.20 per cent of the total articles with the other active categories making up only 13.76 per cent of the articles in Volume 65.

Volume 66 contains a greater number of articles than does Volume 65, with the former having 43 articles and the latter having 29 articles. The "empirical quantitative" category accounts for better than half of the articles in Volume 66 with 53.49 per cent and the "empirical non-quantitative" is second largest among the methodological use articles with 13.95 per cent. Only one other methodological use category is active, the "comparative quantitative", and it has one article, 2.32 per cent. The "theoretical" type accounts for 20.93 per cent of the total articles in Volume 66, dropping proportionately from its position in Volume 65. In the other two non-methodological use categories, "survey of literature" and "method", there is some activity with 6.97 per cent of the articles classified in the former category and 2.32 per cent in the latter category. Clearly the most noteworthy pattern in the distribution of articles in Volume 66 is the number of articles found in the "empirical non-quantitative" category. No ready explanation is available for the sudden expansion of this category and it will be noted that the size of the "empirical non-quantitative" category, when contrasted with the other volumes, is unique to this volume.

Volume 67, 1962, has a much smaller "empirical non-quantitative" category than does Volume 66 with only one of the 53 articles found in the category. The "empirical quantitative" category remains strong with 56.60 per cent of the articles and all other methodological use categories are empty. Among the non-methodological use categories, the "theoretical" type ranks highest with 35.84 per cent of the total articles, whereas the "survey of literature" and the "method" articles account for 3.77 per cent and 1.88 per cent respectively. Again, the dominance of empirical quantitiative research and theoretical concerns is illustrated.

The "empirical quantitative" category remains high in Volume 68 with over half of the 47 articles, 55.31 per cent, falling into this category. The "empirical non-quantitative" category is fairly active with 6.38 per cent of the articles and the other methodological use categories of "historical quantitative" and "comparative quantitative" have 2.12 per cent and 4.25 per cent of the articles respectively. Among the non-methodological use categories, the "theoretical" remains high with 23.40 per cent of the total 47 articles in Volume 68. One article appears in the "survey of literature" category, 2.12 per cent, and three articles, 6.38 per cent, are classified as "method." Both the rise in the "empirical non-quantitative" and the "method" categories are evident in Volume 68, but the overall distribution of articles by the nine categories remains fairly constant.

Volume 69 represents a sharp departure in the pattern of articles by the nine categories as suggested in Volumes 65-68. Of the 45 articles in Volume 69, 77.77 per cent are found in the "empirical quantitative" category. Such a large per cent of the articles in the one category has

the effect of monopolizing the volume such that only four articles appear in the other methodological use categories, one in the "empirical non-quantitative", one in the "historical quantitative", and one in the "comparative quantitative" category. The non-methodological use categories combined contain only 13.33 per cent of the total articles in Volume 69, 11.11 per cent of which are "theoretical" and 2.22 per cent are in the "method" category. No explanation of the overwhelming dominance of the "empirical quantitative" research in Volume 69 is readily available but the reduction in attention given to other concerns when one form of academic activity takes precedence is well illustrated by the distribution of articles in this volume.

A reduction in the size of the "empirical quantitative" category is noted in Volume 70, but even with this reduction, 57.89 per cent of the 38 total articles are found in this category. Three other methodological use categories are active for Volume 70, "historical quantitative", "comparative quantitative", and "empirical non-quantitative", each containing one article, 2.63 per cent, of the articles contained in the volume. Among the non-methodological use categories there is a shift with the "theoretical" type accounting for 18.42 per cent of the total 38 articles, whereas 5.26 per cent of the articles are in the "survey of literature" category, and a high of 10.52 per cent of the articles are in the "method" category. The distribution of articles by the nine categories for Volume 70 may be said to represent a return to a more pervasive pattern in contrast with that of Volume 69. However, the "empirical quantitative" type may still be seen to be by far the most prevalent form of sociological research activity as indicated by the present volume's distribution of articles.

An increase in the "empirical quantitative" category is shown in Volume 71 where 67.56 per cent of the 37 articles in the volume are of this type. The other methodological use categories account for only three articles with one article found in the "empirical non-quantitative", the "historical quantitative", and the "comparative quantitative" categories. Among the non-methodological use categories, the "theoretical" is the most active with 13.51 per cent of the total articles in the volume. However, the "theoretical" category is less dominant than it was in the first four volumes of the 1960's where it claimed between 20 per cent and 35 per cent of the articles in each volume. The other two non-methodological use categories remain comparatively high with 5.40 per cent of the total articles in each of the categories, "survey of literature" and method." It is still clear that the empirical quantitative research is, without rival, the dominant type of research in the present volume and in the present journal.

Looking now at the nine categories by the seven volumes it is possible to see the arrangement of articles by type for the American Journal of Sociology, Volumes 65-71. Figure 3 graphically illustrates this arrangement and clearly shows the pervasiveness of the "empirical quantitative" category. For the seven volumes, the "empirical quantitative" category yields an average of 60.27 per cent, with a range of from 15 to 35 articles. The only other methodological use category active in all seven volumes is the "empirical non-quantitative" category and it has, by comparison, an overall per cent of 9.25 with a range of from 1 to 6 articles. All other methodological use categories are sporadically filled with a maximum of two articles found in any single volume and this

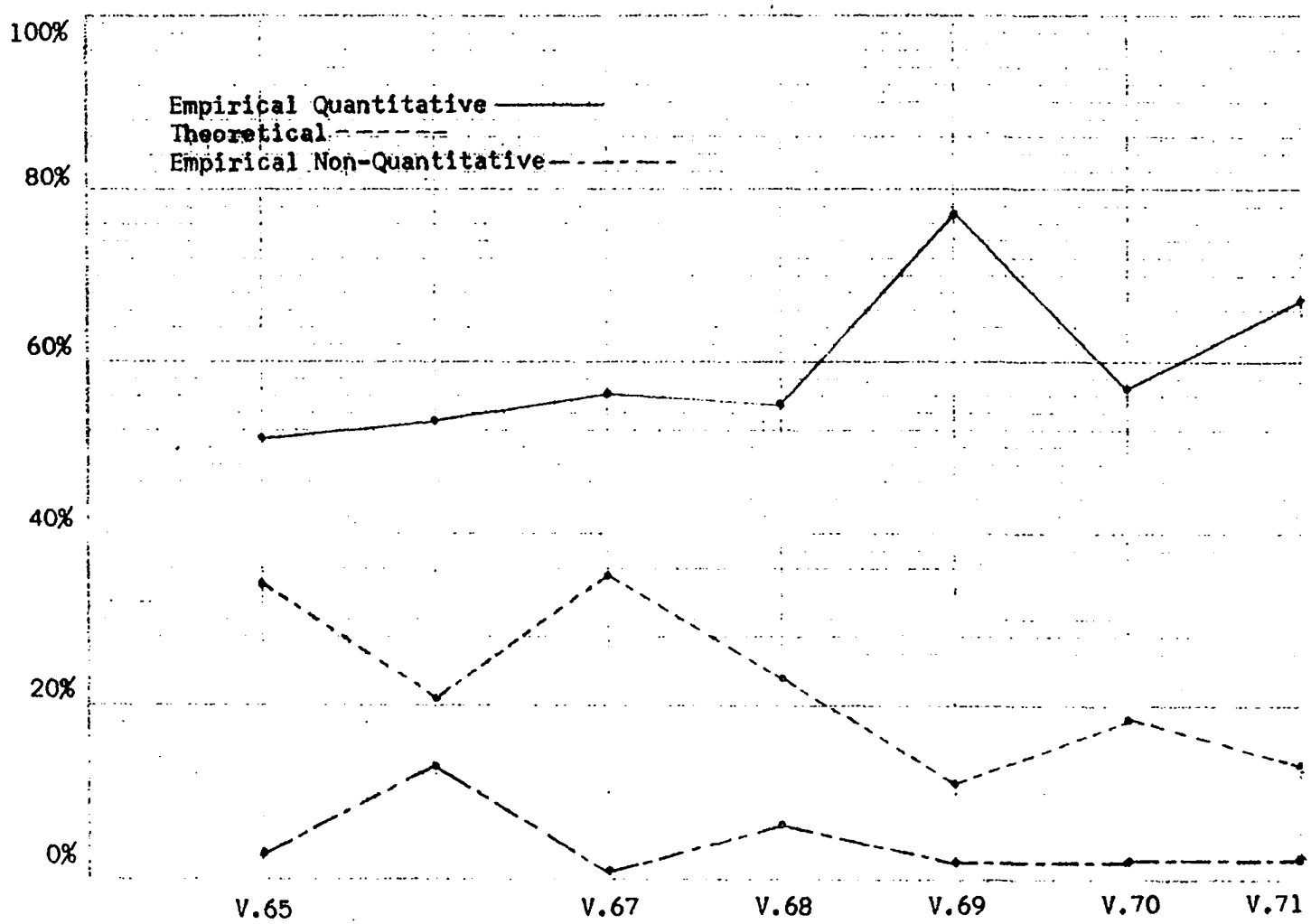


Figure 3. Per cent of American Journal of Sociology articles within each volume classified as Empirical Quantitative, Theoretical, and Empirical Non-Quantitative for Volumes 65 - 71

occurs only twice in the "comparative quantitative" category.

The non-methodological use categories are more diverse than are the methodological use categories in that a greater per cent of the articles are found distributed among the three categories. Nevertheless, the "theoretical" type may be seen in a position of decreasing dominance with an average of 22.96 per cent but a range of from 19 to 5 articles where the smaller number of articles is found in Volumes 69-71. In contrast to the "theoretical" category, there appears a slight increase in the "survey of literature" and "method" categories in Volumes 70-71, however, this increase is very slight.

With primary interest in the methodological use categories, there is a singular conclusion that appears obvious for the foregoing. Empirical$_1$ quantification is, without question, the most evident form of sociological research activity in the 1960's as shown by the classification of articles appearing in the American Journal of Sociology, Volumes 65-71. It will be recalled that in the introductory remarks preceding the present discussion of sociological research trends in the 1960's, there was a statement made to the effect that there might be a non-quantitative bias in the American Journal of Sociology because of its affiliation with the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago. The possibility of a non-quantitative bias was raised in a previously cited 1936 statement by F. House where he suggests that the University of Chicago Department of Sociology is the principle exception to the quantitative research trend (48, p. 423). The present evidence would indicate that either the University of Chicago Sociology Department has changed its research direction, a possibility that can be supported by reviewing the

research output of the sociologists in that department, or that the Sociology Department at the University of Chicago has little impact on the direction of the American Journal of Sociology. Whatever explanation is supportable, the indication is clear that the American Journal of Sociology does not possess a non-quantitative bias, but instead may be seen to have a quantitative bias that would appear to be in accord with the general quantitative bias held by sociology as a whole. In fact, the American Journal of Sociology is more quantitative than the American Sociological Review, with the former having an average of 60.27 per cent "empirical quantitative" articles and the latter having an average of 49.97 per cent "empirical quantitative" articles.

The Journal of Social Forces The categorization of articles in terms of the nine categories for Volumes 39-44 of the Journal of Social Forces by number and per cent within each volume is shown in Table 3. Six volumes are included in Table 3 rather than seven, as is the case with the two preceding volumes, because the volume number does not follow the year division in the Journal of Social Forces but rather includes one half of two years in a volume. Accordingly, Volume 39 consists of articles from the latter half of 1960 and the first half of 1961. As such, Volumes 39-44 omit the first half of 1960 and the last half of 1966.

Of the 46 articles contained in Volume 39, 56.52 per cent are in the "empirical quantitative" and 15.52 per cent are in the "empirical non-quantitative" category. The only other methodological use category that is active for Volume 39 is the "comparative quantitative" category and it contains only one article. It is worth noting that in Volume 39 the "empirical non-quantitative" is larger, both in per cent and in total

Table 3. Per cent of Journal of Social Forces articles within each volume for volumes 39-44 by nine categories

Volume	1960-61, 39 N = 46		1961-62, 40 N = 46		1962-63, 41 N = 43		1963-64, 42 N = 51		1964-65, 43 N = 56		1965-66, 44 N = 54		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Category*														
Methodological Use														
E. Q.	26	56.52	30	65.21	26	60.44	31	60.78	38	66.66	34	62.96	185	62.50
E. N.-Q.	7	15.21	2	4.34	5	11.62	3	5.88	5	8.92	1	1.85	23	7.77
H. Q.	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	1	1.96	--	-----	--	-----	1	.33
H. N.-Q.	--	-----	1	2.17	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	1	.33
C. Q.	1	2.17	1	2.17	1	2.32	--	-----	4	7.14	2	3.70	9	3.04
C. N.-Q.	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	--	-----	---	-----
Non-Methodological Use														
T.	9	19.56	10	21.73	8	18.60	12	23.52	9	16.07	14	25.92	62	20.94
S. of L.	--	-----	--	-----	1	2.32	1	1.96	--	-----	3	5.55	5	1.69
M.	3	6.52	2	4.34	2	4.65	3	5.88	--	-----	--	-----	10	3.37
Total	46	99.98	46	99.96	43	99.98	51	99.98	56	99.98	54	99.98	296	99.97
Methodological Use														
	34	73.91	34	73.91	32	74.41	35	68.62	47	83.92	37	68.51	219	73.98
Non-Methodological Use														
	12	26.08	12	26.08	11	25.58	16	31.37	9	16.07	17	31.48	77	26.01

*Category: E. Q. - empirical quantitative, E. N.-Q. - empirical non-quantitative, H. Q. - historical quantitative, H. N.-Q. - historical non-quantitative, C. Q. - comparative quantitative, C. N.-Q. - comparative non-quantitative, T. - theoretical, S. of L. - survey of literature, M. - methods.

articles within a volume, than any of the volumes of the other two journals. No explanation is available to indicate why Volume 39 of the Journal of Social Forces should be as active in publishing "empirical non-quantitative" research as it appears to be from the present classification. However, it will be important to watch the change in the frequency of articles appearing in the "empirical non-quantitative" category in succeeding volumes of the present journal.

Two non-methodological use categories are filled for Volume 39 with the "theoretical" type accounting for 19.56 per cent of the total articles in the volume and the "method" category claiming 6.52 per cent of the 46 articles. Again, the distribution of articles that has been observed for the volumes of the other journals with regard to the non-methodological use categories is approximated in the Journal of Social Forces, Volume 39, with nearly 20 per cent of the articles in the "theoretical" and less than 10 per cent of the articles in one of the other remaining non-methodological use categories. Such a consistency of pattern may be interpreted as an indicator of the reliability of using the distribution of articles appearing in the three major journals as an instrument for ascertaining the methodological use pattern for the sociological research of the 1960's, although this implied support does not diminish the previously stated limitations.

Volume 40 shows an increase in the "empirical quantitative" category with 65.21 per cent of the 46 articles in the volume found in that category. The "empirical non-quantitative" category, on the other hand, is greatly reduced over what it was in the previous volume having 4.34 per

cent of the articles in Volume 40 in contrast to having 15.21 per cent for the same category in Volume 39. Two other methodological use categories are filled, the "historical non-quantitative" and the "comparative quantitative", with one article in each category. Both Volume 39 and Volume 40 have the same number of articles in the methodological use categories, but the arrangement of these articles is dissimilar largely as a result of the growth of the "empirical quantitative" articles at the expense of the "empirical non-quantitative" articles. The non-methodological use categories account for 26.07 per cent of the articles in Volume 40 where 21.73 per cent are in the "theoretical" type and 4.34 per cent are in the "method" category in contrast with the pattern for Volume 39. Such a shift is of relatively little importance both in magnitude and direction when compared with the shift noted for the methodological use category.

Volume 41 contains three fewer articles than are found in the two preceding volumes, but of its 43 articles, 60.44 per cent are in the "empirical quantitative" category. The "empirical non-quantitative" category, with 11.62 per cent of the articles in Volume 41, shows an increase over Volume 40 but comprises a relatively small portion of the volume's articles in contrast to the "empirical quantitative" category. Only one other category, the "comparative quantitative", is active among the methodological use categories and it has only one article. All three of the non-methodological use categories are active for Volume 41 with the "theoretical" type accounting for 18.60 per cent of the articles in the volume, the "methods" category claiming 4.65 per cent, and 2.32 per cent in the "survey of literature" category. With one article, the "survey of literature" is filled in contrast to this category remaining empty in Volumes

39 and 40. Also, it should be noted that the "theoretical" type, although still the dominant category among the non-methodological use categories, is smaller than it has been in the previous two volumes. On the other hand, the methodological use categories are still dominated by the "empirical quantitative" type which comprises 81.25 per cent of the articles of the methodological use type.

A total of 51 articles are found in Volume 42, of which 60.78 per cent are in the "empirical quantitative" category. The "empirical non-quantitative" category, on the other hand claims only 5.88 per cent of the articles. One other category, the "historical quantitative", is active in the classification of methodological use articles, but it claims only one article. The dominance of the "empirical quantitative" type is consistent in that between 55 per cent and 65 per cent of the articles in Volumes 39-42 are found in this category. Among the non-methodological use categories, the "theoretical" has 23.52 per cent of the total articles which is an increase over the previous volume both in number and per cent. The other two methodological use categories are filled with 5.88 per cent of the articles in the volume classified as "methods" and one article, 1.96 per cent, in the "survey of literature" category. Once again the "theoretical" category is strongest among the non-methodological use categories just as the "empirical quantitative" predominates among the methodological use categories.

With 66.66 per cent of the 56 articles in Volume 43 in the "empirical quantitative" category, this category becomes even more pronounced in Volume 43 than in any of the previous volumes. However, this growth

is not at the expense of the "empirical non-quantitative" category which claims 8.92 per cent of the volume's articles, but there is a reduction in the number of articles in the non-methodological use categories. One other methodological use category is active in Volume 43 and its activity, 7.14 per cent, is greater than the combined activity of all of the previous volumes for this category. Even though only three of the methodological use categories are filled in Volume 43, over 82 per cent of the volume's articles are found in this grouping. By contrast, only one category among the non-methodological use categories is active and it is the "theoretical" with 16.07 per cent, the lowest per cent of articles of this type in Volumes 39-43.

The high per cent of "empirical quantitative" articles in Volume 43 is in contrast with the low per cent of articles in the "theoretical" type in the same volume. In comparison with the per cent in the previous "empirical non-quantitative" categories, Volumes 39-42, Volume 43 is neither high nor low but occupies a position in the middle range of percentages. It may be said that the per cent of "empirical quantitative" articles has decreased in Volume 43, while at the same time the "empirical non-quantitative" type is holding its own.

Only a slight drop in the "empirical quantitative" category is noted for Volume 44, with 62.96 per cent of the 54 articles in the volume placed in this category. The "empirical non-quantitative" category does not fare as well, however, with only one article appearing in this category, thereby bringing it to its lowest point and indicating that it no longer has the position of relative strength noted for in the previous volumes. Also, the "comparative quantitative" has dropped in Volume 44 with 3.70

per cent of the volume's articles. Among the non-methodological use categories, the "theoretical" type has rebounded with 25.92 per cent, a new high for this category in the present journal. The "survey of literature" category is also active in Volume 44, having 5.55 per cent of the volume's articles, whereas the "method" category remains inactive as it was in the previous volume. Even with the inactivity of the "method" category, there are almost twice as many articles in the non-methodological use category in Volume 44 as there were in Volume 43. The gain in the methodological use categories appears to be largely at the expense of the "empirical non-quantitative" category with its one article in Volume 44.

Viewing the overall pattern for the six volumes, Volumes 39-44, of the Journal of Social Forces, it is even more evident than in the previously discussed journals that the "empirical quantitative" type represents the most prevalent sociological research activity of the 1960's. Shown graphically in Figure 4, the "empirical quantitative" category describes a pattern considerably above the other eight categories. Of the articles in the journal 62.50 per cent are of the "empirical quantitative" type, whereas 7.77 per cent are "empirical non-quantitative" and 3.71 per cent are in the rest of the methodological use categories. A total of 26.01 per cent of the total articles are in the non-methodological use categories of which the "theoretical" accounts for 20.95 per cent. It is again evident that the empirical$_1$ quantitative research comprises the greatest share of the sociological output as shown by the classification of articles appearing in the 1960's in one of the major sociological journals. The effect of this dominance of a single type of research activity is to dwarf the other types of research activity.

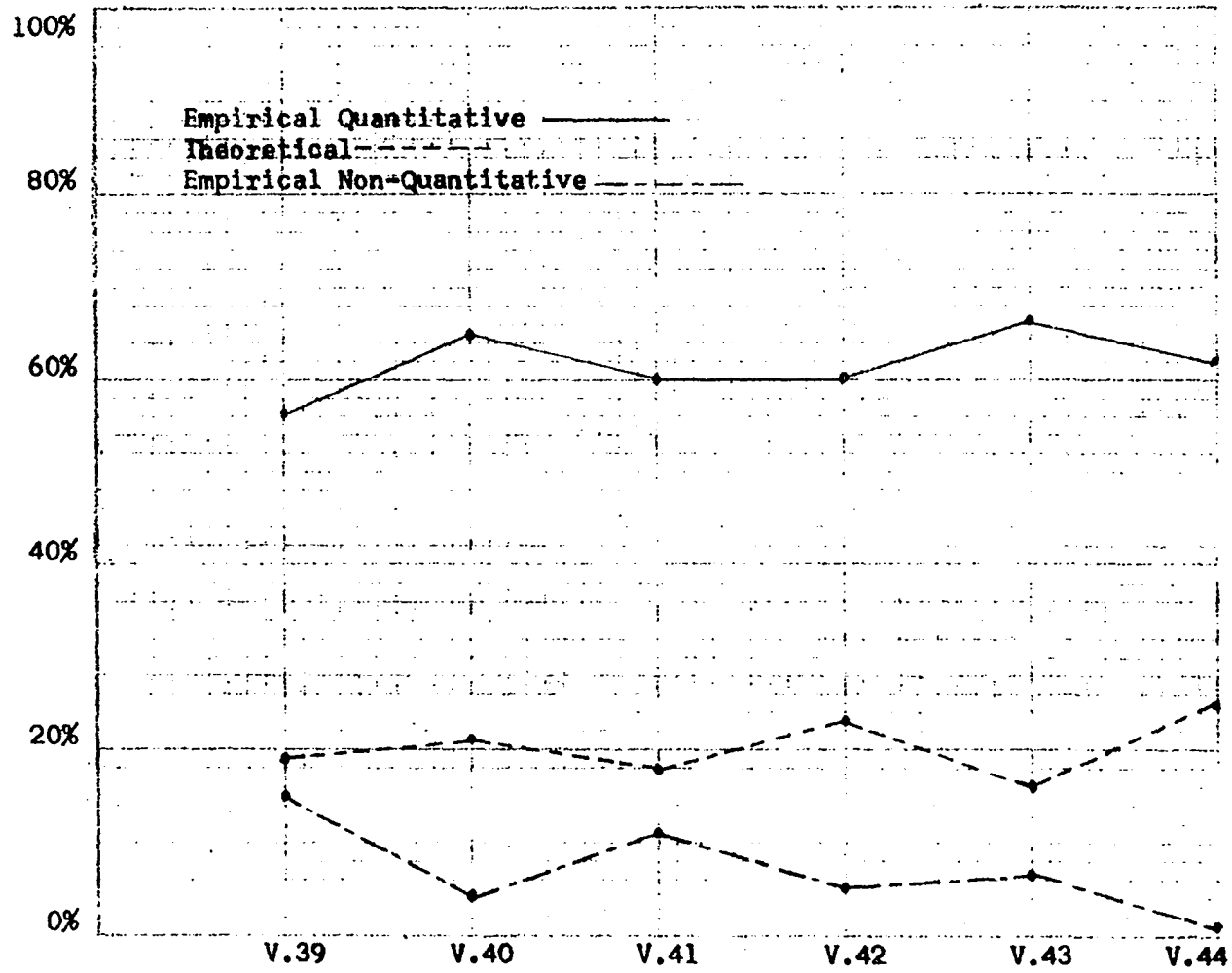


Figure 4. Per cent of Journal of Social Forces articles within each volume classified as Empirical Quantitative, Theoretical, and Empirical Non-Quantitative for Volumes 39 - 44

Examination of this relationship between the nine categories will now be dealt with in a general conclusion and implication section.

Summary and implications Several patterns of the direction of sociological research are clearly demonstrated in the foregoing presentation. First, it is evident that the "empirical quantitative" category represents the most prevalent form of sociological research in the 1960's as indicated by the three sociological journals. Second, the "empirical non-quantitative" type is somewhat active in the three journals but is numerically dwarfed by the "empirical quantitative" type. Third, other methodological use categories favor the quantitative approach by a ratio of 16 to 1, a ratio greater than the "empirical quantitative" to "empirical 'non-quantitative' ratio of 13 to 1. Fourth, among the non-methodological use categories, the "theoretical" type is dominant with slightly less than one-fourth of the articles for the three journals. Fifth, both the "survey of literature" and "method" categories follow an erratic pattern with a very slight tendency to becoming more prevalent in the mid-1960's.

Viewing the above patterns over time suggests that there should be a concern for trends from 1960 to 1966. Because the present purpose is primarily restricted to the methodological use patterns, the discussion of trends will be restricted to these categories. With the "empirical quantitative" type dominating each volume of the three journals it is important to consider the trend during the time period included in the categorization of articles. When all three journals are considered together, the trend is for the number of articles to remain consistent with the exception of 1965 where there is a drop in the total number of "empirical quantitative"

articles. The drop is related to the reduction of "empirical quantitative" articles in both the American Sociological Review and the American Journal of Sociology. However, the overall drop in "empirical quantitative" articles is, in part, cushioned by an increase in the number of "empirical quantitative" articles appearing in the Journal of Social Forces, 1964-1965. The same journal shows a slight trend in the direction of increasing the number of "empirical quantitative" articles contained in its volumes of the mid-1960's.

In contrast, the trend for the "empirical non-quantitative" type in the three journals is inconsistent with no overall pattern immediately discernable. When the journals are inspected separately, however, the American Sociological Review has a larger number of "empirical non-quantitative" articles in 1966 than in all of the preceding volumes to 1960, whereas the other two journals seem to have peaked in the number of "empirical non-quantitative" articles they contain in the early 1960's with a gradual but sporadic decline to 1966.

The other methodological use categories, as previously mentioned, are weighted heavily in the quantitative direction with a consistent overall pattern prevailing for the three journals between 1960 and 1966 where there is no obvious increase or decrease in the number of articles. It is, therefore difficult to speak of a trend except once again to comment on the consistent dominance of quantification in sociological research activity between 1960 and 1966 as demonstrated in the three sociological journals employed in the present classification of articles.

Having summarized the patterns and trends emerging from the categorization of articles appearing in three major sociological journals in

the 1960's, it will prove useful to return to the summary statements which were presented at the end of the earlier discussion of historical methodological perspectives, page 31. These summary statements will provide a framework for the present determination of implications for the contemporary perspectives of the methodological survey. It should be noted that the use of the previous summary statements as a framework for the present concern with implications of the contemporary methodological patterns will guide the implications in a direction noted in the earlier part of the methodological survey. However, the reader should be familiar with the origin of the summary statements that follow from the "historical perspectives" discussion and should, therefore, be aware that the thrust of the earlier summary statements rests on their being examined and elaborated in terms of the findings of the classification of articles from the 1960's.

The first summary statement made the point that quantitative and non-quantitative research have a widely recognized potential for supplementing one another. What are the chances of this potential being realized when non-quantitative research is limited to the extent that it is made largely invisible by the amount of quantitative research? Because of the low frequency of non-quantitative research in the 1960's, the supplementary relationship that is both recognized as being beneficial to the accumulation of a body of knowledge and essential in attaining the same end is threatened. Quantification has become so widely recognized as an effective means of research that sociologists seem to have lost sight of the relationship between non-quantitative and quantitative research, although it is expected that the reverse of this relationship is still demanded.

What sort of supplementary relationship is recommended between quantitative and non-quantitative research? Turning to the second summary statement, documented acquaintance knowledge as obtained through case studies, provides the basis for quantitative problem solving and inference drawing. Acquaintance knowledge, it will be recalled, refers to terms and relationships with which the actor-researcher has some experience. Because most people are limited in the number and range of experiences in which they may engage directly, they may either remain narrow in their view of the world or they may broaden their view through secondary means, such as reading of the experiences of others. In the same way, the sociological researcher intent on quantitative research must seek to broaden his experience range so as to enable himself to formulate measures and draw inferences relevant to his topic of research. In broadening his experience, or what might better be called acquaintance knowledge, the researcher might turn to literary novels, but such sources have the drawback for research of being artistic representations designed by the writer to distort the situation being represented so as to create an artistic impact. It would be for the better if the quantitative researcher could turn to the work of a fellow scientist concerned with the careful documentation of the sort of situation in which he is interested. With acquaintance knowledge provided by a case study, the quantitative researcher may proceed with greater insight and understanding to develop the measures that are applicable to his problem and later to draw inferences with greater foundation than if he had neglected to consult an accurate source of acquaintance knowledge.

The question that is so pressing is, with the few case studies as indicated by the small number of non-quantitative studies contained within

the three journals, where is the quantitative researcher to find the information he needs to broaden his own personal experience? Or, to put it another way, how can quantitative and non-quantitative research supplement one another when non-quantitative research is so underrepresented in the sociological research output today?

The third summary statement places limitations on both quantitative and non-quantitative research by stating that neither is applicable to all areas of sociological inquiry and that each is adapted to certain kinds of inquiry. If such limitations exist, and this writer is convinced that they do, then inactivity of non-quantitative research suggests that a portion of sociological investigation is remaining dormant because current definitions of research favor quantification. In light of the statements above regarding the supplementary relationship between quantitative and non-quantitative research, e.g., acquaintance knowledge used in the formulation of measures and in the drawing of implications, it would appear that quantification itself is being shortchanged because of the lack of non-quantitative research and the subsequent lack of inquiry into some of the problems of sociological interest.

Summary statement number four suggests that statistics may be used as a verification tool but lack utility as a tool of discovery. In contrast, the case study approach is limited as a tool of verification but is a strong tool when used for discovery. Referring to the finding of the classification of journal articles, it is possible to infer that a low level of discovery is currently taking place in sociology. It seems that sociology is largely restricted to verification but because the discovery

of new information is severely limited by the small amount of non-quantitative research, one would wonder what sociologists are so busy verifying. The accusation has been made by H. Blumer that, "The thousands of 'variable' studies of attitudes, for instance, have not contributed to our knowledge of the abstract nature of an attitude; in a similar way the studies of 'social cohesion', 'social integration', 'authority' or 'group morale' have done nothing, so far as I can detect, to clarify or augment generic knowledge of these categories" (14, pp. 383-690). Blumer's accusation is supported by the statement of the limitation of statistics in discovery coupled with the dominance of that mode of inquiry in the sociology of the 1960's.

In the fifth summary statement, the different conceptions of the subject matter of sociology presupposed by quantification and non-quantification are pointed out along with the partial correctness and subsequent supplementary relationship that should exist between these differing conceptions. Quantification tends to view society atomistically whereas non-quantification favors the organic view of society. To the extent that non-quantification is absent from sociological research, it would be expected that the organic view would be correspondingly absent from sociological theory. However, this correspondence does not seem to prevail between sociological research and theory. As will be elaborated upon later, sociological theory in America is characterized by structural-functional social systems thinking that is in many ways similar to the organic view. In contrast, sociological research has become quantitative and accordingly atomistic in its view of society, thereby creating a discontinuity between

research and theory to the extent that both move in directions of their own without complementing one another as they are supposed to do. It is clear that research and theory must work together but when research largely restricts itself to the atomistic view of society while theory is being developed in the organic social systems direction, it is easy to appreciate the problems of trying to relate the two components of the core of sociology. A move toward reconciliation might be to increase non-quantitative research and in so doing partly bridge the research-theory gap that currently exists. Such a recommendation will be explored in a later discussion.

Diversification of problem areas in sociology calls for diversification in the methods of investigation according to the sixth summary statement. It should be clear that this sixth summary statement is tied to the earlier summary statement which suggests that neither quantitative nor non-quantitative approaches are applicable to all areas of sociological inquiry. Thus, as the problem areas of sociology multiply and become more diverse an intolerable situation is created if methods of investigation become narrow and specialized. From the classification of journal articles in the 1960's it is clear that there is a narrowing and specialization of sociological research with empirical$_1$ quantification receiving the most attention and non-quantitative and other types of quantitative research receiving relatively little attention. Because of the limitation of any research technique, as stated above, it is difficult to understand the obvious neglect that sociologists have shown in the use of research approaches other than empirical$_1$ quantification.

According to summary statement seven, a middle range methodological

position is supposed to be emerging in the neo-positivist versus anti-positivist controversy. One is forced to wonder how a middle range methodological position can be emerging when better than 57 per cent of the articles appearing in three major sociological journals between 1960 and 1966 are in the "empirical quantitative" category. In the summary statement it is suggested that there is an indication that the movement toward a middle range methodological position needs some added impetus. The indication is further strengthened by the findings from the classification of journal articles almost to the point where it is questionable whether a middle range methodological position is emerging at all. There is some verbalization that might be interpreted as an indication of the emerging methodological position of the middle range but the use patterns noted above do not corroborate the verbalizations. Instead, the earlier summary statement might be rephrased so that it reads: there is considerable indication that if there is to be a viable movement toward a middle range methodological position, sociologists must reevaluate their almost exclusive use of quantification in research.

What contribution may the sociologist not skilled in quantification make toward advancing the growing body of sociological knowledge? If the answer to this question raised by summary statement eight is, "no contribution at all", then it might be wise to turn the entire sociological enterprise over to mathematicians and statisticians. To the contrary, it is held that the sociologist not skilled in quantification can make a substantial contribution to sociology by pursuing non-quantitative investigation. The problem that needs to be examined in this regard is, what reward is there in carrying out non-quantitative research if the "gatekeepers

of science", the journal editors, are apt to screen out the non-quantitative research from publication in favor of quantitative research? Support for this sort of bias selection may be taken from the findings of D. Crane (21, pp. 195-201) coupled with the findings of the classification of journal articles of the 1960's. Why cannot the major sociological journals adopt a position of methodological pluralism and thereby encourage the production of non-quantitative research? An open attack on the methodological discrimination in sociological research activities seems to be as needed as an open attack on racial and ethnic discrimination activities in the American society. To take this analogy further, although the latter is of far greater significance than the former, it may be said that like the American society, the discipline of sociology is faced with deterioration unless it takes action to overcome its practices of discrimination. Just as the American society needs the productive energies of all of her people, sociology needs the productive energies of all sociologists. Such a condition can be achieved in either case only if discrimination is replaced with pluralism.

The final summary statement, based on M. W. Riley's remarks in Chapter 26 of the Handbook of Modern Sociology, reiterates the assertion that non-quantitative and quantitative techniques have different research strengths. Non-quantitative research is best adapted to the study of objective properties of social systems and quantitative techniques are well suited for studying subjective social system properties (102, p. 966). It is further suggested in the summary statement that if either the non-quantitative or quantitative approaches are neglected, there will be a lack of balance in the development of knowledge relating to social systems. With the dominance

of quantitative research, as shown by the categorization of journal articles from three major sociological journals from 1960 through 1966, there is a distorted conception of the nature of social systems being constructed by American sociology. The recommendation that should be apparent, if the comprehensive understanding of social systems is a part of the goal of sociology, is that *non-quantitative* research should be encouraged so that the objective properties of social systems receive adequate attention.

In the following chapter, the general direction of the present study will be set out. It should be stated that the present writer's interest in the objective properties of social systems and the interrelation of these objective properties with subjective properties of social systems was instrumental in guiding the choice of a small vacation community as an object of study. Wishing to examine the objective properties of a community social system resulted in necessary methodological preparations that in turn made the methodological bias of sociology quite apparent. The recognition of the scope of the methodological bias in sociology has prompted the present chapter. In the chapter that follows, greater attention will be given to the approach to sociological investigation that should serve as an alternative to counteract the present condition of methodological bias that prevails in sociology. It is hoped that the present chapter has clearly established a need for considering methodological alternatives in sociological investigation.

CHAPTER TWO: GENERAL DIRECTION OF THE PRESENT STUDY: STRATEGY AND SCOPE

As was suggested in the last chapter, the present writer has nurtured an interest in studying the objective properties of social systems and their relation to the subjective social system characteristics. Because the primary focus of contemporary sociology is on questioning with the goal of ascertaining the subjective properties of social system, much of the material contained in standard sociological methodology books seems only remotely concerned with investigating the objective properties of social systems. What is the social fabric of a social system? How is social cohesion either achieved or not achieved? In what ways may the physical environment alter the social environment and how is individual and group behavior altered in turn? The answers to these and other questions seem to be missed by questioning alone although questioning may suggest some of the answers to these questions in an incomplete way (14, pp. 683-690).

It should be made clear at this point just what is meant by the subjective social system properties in contrast with the objective social system properties. As with many other analytical distinctions, the distinction between subjective and objective social system properties is artificial to the extent that in the human community subjective properties do not exist apart from objective properties and vice versa. Nevertheless, the distinction has meaning insofar as it calls attention to the difference in kind that exists between subjective and objective social system properties. Both kinds of properties may be further subdivided but for the

present purpose only one major subdivision will be considered for each.

Subjective social system properties are immediately dependent upon language. Because man has the unique capacity of language, man has the capacity for building and maintaining the subjective social system properties and the social scientist has, in turn, the advantage of being able to study man via language. Many social scientists use the techniques of questioning to study the subjective properties of social systems and are thereby able to determine attitudes and goals held by the respondents in relation to the questions asked. Another source of information about the subjective social system is found in the study of written documents such as newspapers, official records, and personal correspondence. The investigator has far less control over written documents than he does over questioning and subsequently the former source is preferred over the latter. One advantage that is lost in employing questioning in preference to written documents is that written documents may serve as a valuable source of subjective properties.

The objective properties of social systems are often overlooked by sociologists or are assumed to be dealt with by questioning alone. Objective properties may be conveniently subdivided into physical and socio-cultural aspects with the two subdivisions again being highly interdependent. The physical objective properties consist of items such as the following: 1) topological characteristics, 2) information on climate, 3) ecological features such as building spacing and arrangement, and transportation routes, and 4) building form, number, external and internal condition, and use. Socio-cultural objective properties include the following: 1) behavior of individuals, 2) behavior of groups, 3) cycles of activity, 4) access -

who goes where, how frequently and what behavior is displayed in various settings, and 5) who interacts with whom in what status role.

The point to be made here is that a social system participant's assessment of the weather or appraisal of the behavior of a fellow system participant, subjective properties, are not the same as the investigator's determination of the high and low temperatures for a given time period or the systematic account of the activities of a system participant, objective properties. A comprehensive understanding of a social system can omit neither subjective nor objective properties, but must consider the two kinds of properties in combination and in contrast. To view the system from the participant's definition of the situation alone, subjective properties, will not produce a complete portrayal of a social system. Consideration of the objective properties alone will produce an equally restricted characterization of a social system. It is, however, possible to stress one of the two kinds of properties in contrast to the other so as to more clearly see a complete social system. Present sociological research activity and corresponding methodology seem to be concerned largely with subjective properties as was shown in the last chapter.

Dissatisfied with the direction of most sociology oriented discussions of methodology, the alternatives of biology's "natural history" approach and anthropology's "holistic" approach were encountered. Both of these approaches include the advantage of being philosophically and methodologically directed toward the study of objective system properties. On the other hand, both approaches have the disadvantage of being poorly explicated. In spite of this shortcoming the natural history approach and the holistic approach have been sufficiently elaborated so that they have

had a pronounced effect on the methodological thinking of the present writer. Accordingly, both approaches will be discussed below.

The natural history approach

What is meant by the term "natural history"? A letter from Paul R. Brayton, Jr., Assistant Librarian for Reference and Circulation of the American Museum of Natural History, in response to a letter inquiring about the meaning and scope of the term "natural history", contained reference to several inconsistent definitions along with the statement, "The term would seem to have varying definitions" (15). The New International Encyclopaedia corroborates the statement by Brayton in its definition of natural history as, "A term used at different times and by different authors in a variety of senses. It was applied at first to the study of all natural objects, including minerals, rocks, and living beings... At present, natural history is confined to the study of organic nature, or biology, and students of general physiology and morphology are called biologists" (85, p. 618). The definition found in Webster also suggests that the term has undergone a change such that, "Formerly the study, description, and classification of animals, plants, minerals, and other natural objects..." was called natural history, whereas the term is "...now commonly restricted to these subjects in a more or less unsystematic way" (130). One would wonder at the reference to a "a more or less unsystematic way" for this characterization of the method of the natural history approach does not seem to be born out.

One of the most informative books on the subject of natural history

entitled The Nature of Natural History by Marston Bates (10) defines natural history as "...the study of life at the level of the individual - of what plants and animals do, how they react to each other and their environment, how they are organized into larger groupings like populations and communities" (10, p. 7). What Bates is referring to is the objective properties of plant and animal community systems investigated by special activities coupled with a special attitude or frame of reference held by the investigator. It will prove useful to review the subject matter, activities, and frame of reference of the natural historian.

Natural history is frequently equated with ecology and ecology may be defined as the study of organisms in relation to their environment. Environment, in turn, may be defined as the total forces external to the organism acting on the organism. Accordingly, environment refers not only to the physical environment but includes the relations between the organisms and the product of interrelations within a physical environment frequently referred to as community. Natural history, therefore, may be seen as the study of the complex interrelationships of individuals with each other and with their environment. As such, natural history may be said to concern itself with the objective characteristics of a biological community in a manner similar to the present writer's inclination to study the sociocultural community.

The natural historian gathers information on climate, topography, as well as on the flora and fauna occupying the same territory as his specific object of study. A social scientist wishing to follow the activities appropriate to natural history investigation would gather similar information but would need to give greater attention to the man-created environment

as an addition and alteration of the natural environment. As the title of a short informative work by V. Gordon Childe suggests, Man Makes Himself (19). Man alters his natural physical environment by encouraging what Bates calls "cultigens": the cultivated plants and domesticated animals which surround man (8, pp. 58-81). By way of technology, man alters the topography and although a large measure of success has not been achieved, man is also intent on altering the weather. Because of his limited success in controlling the weather, man has developed means of creating an artificial climate in his homes, his cars, his workplaces, and in some cases, even in his schools. From man's many efforts to change his physical environment it should be clear that man, as an organism, adds another dimension to the approach of the natural historian, that dimension of culture. There are some problems, therefore, in moving from the study of lower forms of animal life to the study of man but the presence of problems does not mean that the natural history approach cannot be useful in the study of man. The study of the biotic community and the study of the sociocultural community, it should be emphasized, have a great deal in common.

Emphasizing the interdependence of various members acting together to form a functioning unit, Bates defines the community as, "...the smallest group of such populations that can be studied and understood as a more or less self-sufficient unit" (10, p. 110). He further indicates that the basis for the examination of the community is not the individual organism (the individual organism cannot be understood apart from his relation to his environment) but is instead the community itself. The problem in trying to study the community from the level of the individual is illustrated in the following paragraph.

> It is like trying to analyze the relationship between John, the barber, and Peter, the milkman. We soon get involved with Alfred, the grocer; with Peter's wife who works with Alfred's wife in arranging church suppers; with Elizabeth, who sells dresses imported from New York, which takes us out of the community and into ever more general and more indefinite, but the less essential relationships (10, p. 109).

Natural historians have concerned themselves with a wide variety of flora and fauna in their quest to uncover the nature of biotic communities, many of which have come to the present writer's attention in the periodical, Natural History (83). There appears to be a recognition on the part of biologists that the organism is characterized by a tight and definite organization of cells and tissues, whereas the community is, by comparison, vague and indefinite. Because of this vagueness in the organization of communities many biologists prefer to concern themselves only with the organism, admitting, but not directly concerning themselves with, the community. There may be a parallel between the biologist's retreat from the investigation of the objective properties of the human community. The subjective properties of the human community are like the properties of an organism to the extent that they are characterized by less vagueness than are the objective properties of the human community. Rather than seeing the seeming lack of pattern as forbidding, some investigators, such as Marston Bates, consider the study of community more compelling for the very reason of its apparent vagueness (9).

That the subject matter of the natural historian, the biotic community, has a great deal in common with the human socio-cultural community was made clear over forty years ago by the Chicago School of Human Ecology (91). It should be noted here that the biological and sociological shared interests in community have been long recognized although the emphasis of this

interconnection is somewhat different than the present emphasis. Where the traditional impact of plant and animal ecology on human ecology, and ultimately on all of sociology, has been in terms of "symbiosis", the process of unintentional cooperation, "succession", the activity pattern of shifting populations within a territory, and most important, "conflict" usually phrased in human ecology as economic conflict; the aspect of natural history that this writer would like to see affect sociology is methodological-attitudinal. The main thrust of the present discussion should be found in the following review of the activities and frame of reference of the natural historian.

"Much of natural history, much of science, is descriptive, the accumulation of observations" (10, p. 270). The natural historian is interested in studying the nesting or mating behavior of a particular species of bird in its natural habitat. The sociologist will not usually find such intimate behavior publicly displayed by humans but it is surprising the extent to which human behavior is displayed both publicly and semi-publicly. Like the natural historian, the sociologist must become a trained observer, one who knows what to look for, how to record what he has seen, and how to relate what he has seen and recorded to what his colleagues have seen and recorded. Young children interested in nature might develop the hobby of collecting butterflies. In so doing they are apt to become quite knowledgeable about butterfly behavior. However, in most cases it would be impossible to call such hobbyists trained observers because they lack the awareness of what to look for, how to record what they have seen and how to relate it to what others have seen. The young hobbyists are not, at least at that point in their development, natural historians.

Most adult humans consider themselves to be trained observers of the human scene. Unfortunately, they lack the expertise needed to be trained observers for they are like the young hobbyists in that they fail to know what to look for in human social behavior, they fail to record what they have seen in a systematic manner, and they are unable to relate what they have seen with the observations of others except perhaps by casual exchange. A still greater misfortune is that many sociologists have only slightly greater expertise as trained observers of human social behavior than do the non-sociologists. The sociologist's lack of expertise as a trained observer comes about both as a result of lack of training for this activity and a lack of concern about observing the object of his concern in a natural setting. Because the natural historian considers it essential to become a trained observer so that he may be accomplished in his profession, we seem to find a paradox present where more is known about the natural community behavior of organisms other than man than is known about man's communal behavior as it is played out in natural settings.

The question is, why have sociologists not followed the pattern of the natural historian in approaching the objective properties of the socio-cultural community within the natural community? Concern with the subjective properties of the socio-cultural community have brought sociologists and their research teams into community settings but all too frequently the objective properties of the community are bypassed in favor of the sole concern with the subjective data gathering. Subjective data are important to the sociologist's understanding of community, but so are objective data. Observation of social behavior is sometimes carried out in artificial laboratory settings. Why then is it neglected in community settings? The

natural historian can provide the sociologist with an example for studying behavior and environment as they interact in a natural setting. Just as Jane Van Lawick-Goodall has recorded the way of the chimpanzee community in its natural setting, (123) sociologists can record the way of life of human communities in their natural settings. In part, anthropologists have developed their own approach for accomplishing this same end; more will be said about the anthropological "holistic" approach later in the present chapter, but the natural history approach has its unique contribution to make to the general study of community.

What is the attitudinal frame of reference of the natural historian? In common with other scientists, the natural historian practices objectivity, is persistent in questioning, and continually doubts the completeness of what he has observed. Furthermore, the natural historian seeks to be systematic in his work, knowing that others interested in similar problems will want to check, arrange, and rearrange the data that he has gathered. But beyond this "scientific attitude", the natural historian is concerned with the full range of variables that are dynamically interrelated in the community that he has chosen to study. In this day of scientific specialization such a frame of reference might appear to be inconsistent and out of date. With the great wealth of knowledge accumulated in so many diverse specialized areas, how can one investigator know all that is necessary so as to study the community in its total complexity? The counter question is, how can the investigator afford not to approach the community in its total complexity if he is, in fact, intent on ascertaining the complex of interrelated objective characteristics that comprise the community? Central to the natural historian's attitudinal frame of reference is the willingness

to take a chance of unintentionally overlooking an aspect of the community so as to possibly realize the potential of grasping the total community complexity.

Essentially what is being suggested here is that natural history has continued to encourage observation by trained observers of communities: studying the whole organism in its development, its characteristics, and its complex environmental relationships with the goal of understanding the total community. In order to identify this activity-attitude frame of reference more readily, it might be useful to refer to it as the natural history approach, using a term that has been used previously but now attaching more meaning to the term. To say that the natural history approach is either startling or new would be a gross overstatement and moreover it would not be true. It may, however, be said that there is a great deal to be gained from the natural history approach as it does present a different orientation to the study of community than the approach that is now current in sociology.

Sociology has patterned its recent development after the logico-experimental model of physical science. Claiming the physical science model is incorrect or inappropriate for sociology would be overstepping the bounds of the present discussion as well as the competence of this writer. Instead, the claim of the present discussion is that if sociology is to investigate the objective properties of social systems, and this writer is convinced that sociology must move in this direction, then much can be learned from the natural history approach. There has been a great deal of talk about the cross-fertilization of scientific disciplines in the past decade of ecumenical movements. Here is an opportunity for sociologists to engage in such an exchange.

The holistic approach

In noting that a primary feature of anthropological research is that it is holistic, Raymond Firth states that, "Any particular item for examination is always considered with some regard to its place in the total phenomena in the life of the human group concerned" (37, p. 182). As the item of concern is examined as to its place in the total life of the group, it is accepted that, although the specific interest of the investigator may be in the economic or the religious system, or a specialized component of the same, it becomes necessary to study the community system in its totality. The underlying proposition of the holistic approach directing the researcher to consider the community system in its totality is that all forms of behavior are functionally interdependent within the context of the whole (116, p. 21). Support for this proposition is found in nature, according to Firth, such that, "If the underlying activity of nature is a system of concrescent processes, each developing and realizing its appropriate value, the human activity partakes of the same general character: it is part of the dynamic process of the world" (37, p. 182). Further support for the holistic approach and its underlying proposition may be obtained from anthropological functionalism; however, the review of functionalism will be postponed until the next chapter.

One major work concerned with elucidating the holistic approach is Robert Redfield's, The Little Community: Viewpoint for the Study of a Human Whole, (101). The community as a human whole of particular interest to the anthropologist is singled out by Redfield as a workable example for illustrating the human whole. Communities that are used to illustrate the human whole range from hunting-gathering bands to complex communities found

with civilizations. The little community may be identified, according to Redfield, by its distinctiveness, its small population, and its homogeneity; all of which contribute to community self-sufficiency (101, p. 4). It may be noted that the above identifying characteristics vary as to their presence with hunting-gathering communities possessing a high degree of self-sufficiency and accordingly ranking high in the other three characteristics, whereas small American communities have a comparatively low degree of self-sufficiency along with a low ranking of the other characteristics because of their many linkages to other communities and to the larger society. Redfield's purpose is not to examine the community per se but rather to explore the more or less holistic conceptions that may be used for describing the little community.

Seven holistic approaches to the study of community are discussed by Redfield. They are, by order of presentation, as follows: 1) the community as an ecological system, 2) the community as a social system, 3) the community as seen through the life histories of residents, 4) the community as characterized by the personality types of the residents, 5) the community as illustrated by the world view of the residents, 6) the community as a historical progression, and 7) the community and its external relations with other communities and with the larger society. Redfield suggests that the use of two contrasting holistic approaches may result in two quite different accounts of a community. His suggestion to remedy this problem is to use a combination of approaches so as to construct "alternative and complementary descriptions" of the little community under examination (101, pp. 132-133).

Julian Steward (116) has illustrated the point made by Redfield that differing holistic approaches may result in differing descriptions of

community. Even though the aim of the holistic approach may be said to be a consideration of all aspects of community, many items are frequently omitted as shown below in the comparison of C. Wissler's "universal pattern" headings for describing any group, (135, p. 74) and the table of contents of the Lynd's study, Middletown, (73) and West's Plainville, U.S.A. (131).

Comparison of Holistic Descriptions (116, p. 23)

Wissler	Lynd	West
Material traits	Getting a living	...
Speech	...	...
Art	...	...
Mythology and science	...	...
Religion	Religion	Religion
Family and social system	Making a home	Social structure
Property and exchange	...	...
Government	Community activities (government, health, propaganda, group solidarity)	...
Warfare	...	...
	Training young	Life cycle
	Using leisure	

If there is so much possible variation in the holistic approach as far as the actual data that are gathered, what appeal does this approach have for the community researcher? The anthropologist, among others, is convinced that the community is made up of mutually interdependent processes and that an understanding of the community can best be accomplished by way of first hand observation of these processes. He therefore chooses a small community or a section of a larger community so that he may record the activities of people in group relations in a detailed and systematic manner. In addition, and this is extremely important, "...he can check what he is told by what he is seeing people actually do" (37, p. 18).

From such intensive study the investigator is able to ascertain not only the general pattern of the community but also the extent and kind of variation from the general pattern.

Because all holistic studies do not follow the very same format, they are not, in any appreciable way, impaired from contributing to the understanding of the human whole as illustrated in the community. Arensberg appears to resolve the problem of variation in data yield by stating that the purpose is not to study whole communities. "It is the study of human behavior in communities; that is, in the natural context made up of natural and full cooperative living, of living intergenerational and intersexual relationships, of ongoing culture and interfamilial communication and transmission" (3, p. 42). However, such a resolution of the problem of variation in the yield generated by the use of the holistic approach does not really resolve anything because if the holistic proposition is taken into account, the study of human behavior in communities is the study of the whole community. Perhaps the best way to resolve the problem of variation in data yield when using the holistic approach is to accept that the holistic accounts of communities will be altered somewhat by the research problem, by circumstances that prevail in the research situation, and to a lesser extent, by the predilections of the researcher. Even in light of these possible limitations, the holistic approach recommends itself because it alone has the advantage of investigating human social behavior in the full round of the socio-cultural configuration coupled interdependently with the community environment.

Firth points out that, "the nearer the anthropologist approaches to the study of contemporary civilization, the more he must be aware of the

contribution of other social sciences to the problems" (37, p. 15). Further, in referring to a range of such studies, "These examples indicate not only the potentialities of anthropological research, but also the closeness of its relation in other disciplines, including psychology and sociology" (37, p. 17). For the present purpose, the closeness between the work of the anthropologist and the sociologist is of particular concern. During the late 1920's, the 1930's, and the early 1940's, sociologists and social anthropologists were engaged in a wide range of studies of American communities that employed the holistic approach. Representatives studies in this tradition are listed below by decade of publication.

1920's

Robert S. and Helen Lynd, Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929

1930's

Robert S. and Helen Lynd, Middletown in Transition: A Study in Cultural Conflict, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937

John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937

Hortense Powdermaker, After Freedom: A Cultural Study of the Deep South, New York: The Viking Press, 1939

1940's

Note: The listing of all of the Rural Life Studies somewhat exaggerates the activity of holistic community investigation in the 1940's. Also, much of the field work was done in the 1930's for the studies listed below.

W. Lloyd Warner and Paul Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community, Yankee City Series, Volume I, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941

Allison Davis and Burleigh B. and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class, Chicago:

University of Chicago Press, 1941

Glen Leonard and C. P. Loomis, El Cerrito, New Mexico, Rural Life Series, 1, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1941

Earl H. Bell, Sublette, Kansas, Rural Life Series, 2, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1942

Kenneth MacLeish and Kimball Young, Landaff, New Hampshire, Rural Life Series, 3, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1942

Walter M. Kollmorgen, The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Rural Life Series, 4, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1942

Edward O. Moe and Carl G. Taylor, Irwin, Iowa, Rural Life Series, 5, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1942

Waller Wynne, Harmony, Georgia, Rural Life Series, 6, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1943

St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945

James West, (pseudonym), Plainville, U.S.A., New York: Columbia University Press, 1945

Steward gives credit to sociology for this surge of holistic studies in the statement, "The community study approach was first applied to white, Negro, and other groups in the United States more by sociologists than by anthropologists" (116, p. 30). What has been the extent of activity of sociologists using the holistic approach during the last two decades? There has been a dramatic drop in the number of community studies in the 1950's and 1960's using the holistic approach. One major study has been made of the effect of mass society on a small community (124). Considerable attention has been given to problems such as social power in community;

(22, 50, 98, 120) but with one partial exception (68) these studies have been problem oriented at the expense of ascertaining the configuration and integration of the communities in question. Other community studies suffer from the same limitation (51, 108). . A trend away from the total community as a topic of research interest in sociology is indicated in that there are no new holistic studies of American communities with the exceptions of the Vidich and Bensman study and the Lowry study (124, 68). The lack of research is in contrast to the increase in interest in the total community from the theoretical-analytical standpoint (47, 105, 115, 128, 4). The present writer's contention is that renewed research interest in the American community is an important first step in increasing the limited sociological knowledge of this aspect of the socio-cultural milieu.

It is recognized that there are some problems in studying American communities using the holistic approach (55, 116). However, it is the view of Arensberg, (3, pp. 28-47) among others, that what he prefers to call the "community study method" can be adapted to the study of communities within a complex society. The advantage of being able to explore a problem as a part of an ongoing community, to see the interconnections between behavioral and environmental factors is adequate compensation for the shortcomings of the approach. Addressing himself directly to Steward's criticism that studies of communities in complex societies have been carried out as if the investigator was studying a simple community, Arensberg states that methods of scientific investigation evolve in use and that in using the holistic approach, the criticisms directed at it will be resolved (3, p. 42). Renewed research interest in the American community and the use

of the holistic approach will have the effect of improving understanding of the American socio-cultural milieu and, if Arensberg is correct, refining the community study holistic approach for more fruitful use in studying communities in complex modern societies.

What are the activities appropriate to the holistic approach, or to use Arensberg's term, to the "community study method"? In describing his own experience in studying the African Kingdom of Bunyoro, John Beattie, a British anthropologist is rather candid about the command of field work techniques that he possessed when he began his first field work. "On just how when one got to the field one went about one's task, on the practical techniques which would be useful in collecting the kinds of information I wanted, I was perhaps less adequately informed" (113). Beatties's training in preparation for the field research he is referring to had been in anthropological theory, ethnographic accounts by other social anthropologists, few of whom have recorded how they carried out their field work with the exception of passing references to field work problems, and in language. Formal instruction in the techniques of field work appropriate to the holistic approach was not a part of the education experienced by Beattie nor is it a part of the formal education of many social anthropologists. With only occasional classroom reference to the techniques of field work for holistic data gathering and with few written accounts of how to accomplish data gathering consistent with the goals of this approach, how is one to know what activities are appropriate to the holistic approach?

In the present decade there has been an increasing amount of literature dealing with holistic field work techniques. Beattie's book is a part of a series designed to explicate social anthropological techniques of

data gathering (113). Seven techniques may be considered as appropriate to the holistic approach when used in combination; they are as follows: 1) participant observation, 2) house to house canvassing, 3) non-directive interviewing, 4) sociometric measurement, 5) kinship analysis, 6) historical analysis, and 7) secondary data analysis (3, p. 31). Although this list may be increased or decreased, it includes many of the topics of concern in the current written accounts of holistic technique. That these accounts will continue to be written seems certain if Arensberg's appraisal is correct.

> "It has been customary for a young anthropologist to learn field work privately by word of mouth from one's master just before setting out on one's first trip to the field. Learning technique has been the last final act of apprenticeship at the time of maximum motivation. Nevertheless, despite tradition, it has also become clear that such apprenticeship is no longer adequate for large numbers of researchers, and recently some codification of field work method has been attempted" (3, p. 36).

What attitude does the researcher carry into the field when he embarks on a holistic study? As has already been mentioned, there is a possibility of variation in the researcher's attitude just as there is a range in the problems that might be selected for investigation. One attitude or perspective that the holistic oriented researcher will have, however, is that the community study must be multifactorial and approached in vivo such that the full natural dyamic setting of interrelationships is explored (3, pp. 30-31). Armed with this attitude, the holistic orientied researcher will be content neither with examining single factors in isolation nor attempting to appraise a static community. Instead, he will attempt to explore beyond the seemingly evident portrayals of community life so as to

see the community in the style of a dynamic mosaic. He will be concerned not only with detail, gaining an understanding of the community resident's appraisal of their socio-cultural system, and checking this appraisal by observing the actual behavior and interrelations within the community, but more importantly, he will be concerned with interpreting this detail with a breadth of view.

As should be evident from the foregoing, there is a great deal in the holistic approach to recommend it to sociologists interested in studying the objective properties of community. That the approach is not free from shortcomings is clear but as it has been previously stated, a research technique is subject to evolution through use. In order to deal with these shortcomings, the holistic approach must be used, and further, the results of its use must be documented from a methodological point of view as well as a substantive point of view. The literature on the holistic approach is increasing but the use of this approach by sociologists and others in the study of the small American community has declined. At present the holistic approach appears to be one promising approach for the study of objective properties of communities, their relationship with subjective properties, and with the total social system. It seems that all that is standing in the way of discoveries of the sort alluded to above is the inaction of the sociologist with regard to undertaking holistic studies of community. The present writer is intending to sound a call for action.

The two approaches compared and contrasted

Previously, it was stated that the natural history approach and the holistic approach present alternatives to the standard methodological directions of current sociology because both approaches are philosophically and methodologically directed toward the study of objective properties. The earlier discussion of what is referred to be the term "objective properties" should provide a starting point for comparing and contrasting the natural history and holistic approaches. Natural history was defined as the study of the ways in which plants and animals react to each other as well as to the environment and their resulting arrangement into communities. Plants and simple forms of animal life have only objective properties but they may co-exist with complex animals, including man, who have subjective properties. In addition, complex animals, excluding man, that possess subjective characteristics are able to communicate these characteristics only through non-verbal behavior. It may be said, therefore, that a large portion of the subject matter of natural history and the subsequent natural history approach involves subjective properties only indirectly.

Anthropologists are concerned with the total study of man. Man as a biological entity shares many characteristics in common with the less complex animals but differs from these animals in his almost complete lack of instinct and in his ability to symbol. Through his ability to symbol, along with other biological capacities, man has been able to develop an adaptive mechanism that is far more versatile than instinct. The adaptive mechanism that man has created and that separates man from other animals

is called "culture", defined by E. B. Tylor as, "...that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (121). Although there is not complete agreement about what is included and excluded from the concept "culture" as shown by Krober and Kluckhohn's compilation of definitions (61) it should be clear that anthropologists concern themselves with subjective properties when they concern themselves with culture.

Culture involves shared ideas but shared ideas leave their mark on objects, material culture, and are demonstrated through behavior. Like the natural historian, the anthropologist seeks to understand patterns of interaction, the relationship between the actors and the environment and the resulting arrangement into communities. He does not, therefore, limit his investigation to the subjective properties but looks at objective properties both in the material culture of the people that he is studying and by noting the actual behavior rather than only what is said about behavior. It is this concern with both the subjective and objective properties that is referred to as the holistic approach.

Both the natural historian and the holistic oriented social scientist are interested in the objective properties of the systems they are studying. Natural historians have only an indirect interest with subjective properties, whereas anthropologists and other social scientists must concern themselves directly with subjective properties. Concern with subjective properties does not mean that the objective properties may be neglected by social scientists. Man is still a biological creature behaving within an environment and therefore the holistic approach attempts to

study man through both sets of properties. The natural history and holistic approaches are similar in that they share an interest in objective properties but are dissimilar in their treatment of subjective properties such that the natural history approach has an indirect concern and the holistic approach has a direct concern with subjective properties.

Another point of commonality between the two approaches lies in their respective objects of study. The natural history approach and the holistic approach are both used to investigate problems within communities. However, the natural history approach focuses on the biotic community whereas the holistic approach concentrates on the human community. Despite this difference in the kind of community studied there is a commonality to the extent that both approaches prefer to study their respective communities in their natural settings. Because the study of the biotic community, by way of the natural history approach, and the study of the human community, by way of the holistic approach, are carried out at the natural setting level, there is a great deal of similarity between the two approaches.

Again, in terms of their respective methods of study there is a marked similarity between the natural history and the holistic approaches. It is not surprising to find this similarity as it follows from the similarity noted above, where both approaches investigate their objects of study within the natural setting that obtains for each kind of community. The commonality of concern with objective properties also works to promote a similarity in method of study. Accordingly, observation-description is a technique of considerable importance in both approaches as it is the most effective research technique in a natural setting and in the investigation of objective properties. There are, however, some dissimilarities with

regard to the methods of study that come about as the result of the holistic interest in subjective properties.

Because subjective properties must be studied directly in the human community it is necessary to investigate these properties through questioning and examining written documents. For the social scientist using the holistic approach there is the direct investigation of subjective properties via language as well as the indirect study of the same properties through behavior. Behavior itself is among the objective properties but it can give clues to subjective properties. The user of the holistic approach is required to move from direct observation of subjective properties to indirect observation of these properties and back again to direct observation. On the other hand, the subject of the natural history approach does not lend itself to direct investigation of subjective properties and can therefore be concerned only with the indirect observation of these properties. Furthermore, only the complex animals possess the capacity for subjectivity, although subjectivity must be accounted for in all settings, at least as an environmental factor. To the extent that there is a difference in the concern with subjective and objective properties, there is a difference in the method of study used by the two approaches. The difference is an addition for the holistic oriented social scientist in his direct investigation of subjective properties rather than an omission because the holistic oriented social scientist must study objective porperties as completely as does the natural historian.

Use of observation-description, investigation of the community in its natural setting, concern with the interrelationship between individuals and environment all work to produce, and are in turn produced by, an

attitudinal frame of reference that favors an examination of the full range of dynamically interrelated variables found within the community. Most frequently the total community is not itself the object of specific interest, the research problem, but because the research problem is seen to exist in a total setting it is only possible to study the problem in relation to the total setting. In studying the problem in relation to the total setting it becomes necessary to, in effect, proceed as if the total community was the object of interest, but studying the community is, in fact, only a means to the end of clearly seeing the problem in its natural context. The additional benefit of all of this, however, is that the total community is documented as well as the specific problem.

The several similarities and differences between the natural history and holistic approaches emphasize the following: 1) the objective properties of community, 2) investigation in the natural setting of the community, 3) observation-description as a primary technique of investigation, and 4) holistic attitudinal frame of reference. As was indicated in the last chapter, the trends in current sociological research are quite unlike the similarities of the two approaches considered here. In an effort to find some discussion of the methods of investigation of objective properties found in community and other social systems the present writer was forced to look beyond the standard methodological sources of sociology to those of biology's natural history approach and anthropology's holistic approach. These approaches have had a greater effect in guiding the present research than have the standard sociological methods with their almost exclusive concern with subjective properties. Subjective properties cannot be overlooked, however, and therefore some attention has been given to

the techniques elaborated by standard sociological methodology. An explication of the specific methodology of the present study will be postponed to a later chapter following a chapter dealing with theoretical considerations. The balance of the present chapter will be given over to an introduction to the community studied, the reasons for selecting the community studied, a preliminary statement of the research problem, and an overview of the balance of the present work.

Setting and selection of the community

Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan are unique in their great endowment of water resources. In addition to the Great Lakes, each state has a considerable number of square miles of inland lakes within its borders. Minnesota has 4,059 square miles of inland water, Wisconsin has 1,449 square miles of inland water, and Michigan has 1,197 square miles of inland water. The greatest portion of inland water in each of these states is located in their northern portions where there is also a plentiful cover of second growth pine and other softwood trees.

The history of the Northern Great Lakes Region is one of lumber and mineral exploitation during the latter half of the 19th century. Estimates by lumbermen and mining companies of the extent of the resource wealth of the Northern Great Lakes Region were exaggerated. In ten to twenty years less than was thought possible, the exploitation of the Northern Great Lakes Region had transformed virgin timber and almost pure iron ore and copper deposits into barren lands and waste piles and pits.

With the exhaustion of the natural resource base, the Northern Great Lakes Region was left without a stable economic activity. Farming has

been, with few exceptions, unproductive in the region because of the sandy, clay, and rocky soils. Selective cutting of timber for pulp has continued as a kind of lumbering activity but because much land and a great deal of capital is required in the growing of trees to be harvested in the future, pulp forestry provides few major economic opportunities. The one industry that has a considerable growth potential in the Northern Great Lakes Region is the complex of vacation enterprises.

The vacation enterprises in the Northern Great Lakes Region rely on the natural beauty of the geographical area with the object of making accommodations, entertainment, gasoline, boats, guns, and other articles consumed by the vacationers available. In the past forty years many of the towns and villages in the Northern Great Lakes Region have sought to build vacation enterprises as a successor to the lumbering and mining industries. Some towns have developed winter sports, primarily skiing. Other towns have sought to attract hunters and fishermen. Vacation communities designed to serve families, either as visitors or as cabin owners, are common as well. The present research is concerned with a vacation community.

Vacation communities have several interesting characteristics that set them apart from non-vacation communities. Perhaps the most evident of these characteristics is the seasonality of activity coupled with the fluctuation of the population size. For the Northern Great Lakes Region vacation communities, the vacation period ranges from several weeks before Memorial Day to approximately one month after Labor Day. The weather plays a large part in determining these limits with an early Spring or a long and unusually warm Indian Summer extending the limits of the vacation period in either direction. Within the vacation period there is by contrast

with the non-vacation period, a great deal of activity. The considerable acitivity is, in part, generated by the greater population during the vacation period with upwards of ten times as many residents present in vacation communities during this period as contrasted with the non-vacation period.

The first exodus of summer residents from vacation communities takes place in the weeks near the Labor Day weekend as families with schoolage children return to their "winter" homes. The second exodus includes some summer residents, who have been able to enjoy the luxury of spending the Indian Summer season away from their more permanent homes, and some retired residents, who have sufficient financial means to maintain a second vacation home in the warmer regions of the South and Southwest. Following the exodus of these resident groupings there remains a core of people in the vacation community that might be termed the permanent residents. These are the people who will spend twelve months in the community, will concern themselves with the problems of snow removal and the maintenance of other services during the most severe weather of the year, and will seek to reintegrate the vacation community after the exodus of the other resident groupings.

The vacation community selected by the present writer for the purposes of research is Lake N located in Northern Wisconsin midway between Ashland and Superior. Platted in 1897 as a speculative enterprise by a group of land developers, Lake N became a booming lumber town in the late 1900's. With two railroads, a bustling lumbermill with a "hot pond" for a twelve month operation, the village grew to accommodate a population of 1500 people. By 1910 the lumber mill was closed and hauled away and the

railroads soon ceased to run. Many people followed the lumbering activity as it moved West, but some stayed in Lake N and their families are still among the community's residents (27).

For the most part, the permanent residents of Lake N are dependent on the outside economy, although vacation enterprises are their most important local industry. Summer cabin owners are numerous, with greater than a third more dwelling units on the property tax rolls as there are total permanent residents in the community. The population of the village has remained constant over the last three decades with approximately 350 residents. The largest segment of the population is older, retired, and with some exceptions, involved in a variety of local voluntary associations. A younger segment of the permanent resident population is oriented to many activities outside the community as a byproduct of their employment and education activities outside the community. Both segments, however, have the common bond of visible pride and identification with the community.

One of the characteristics of Lake N that attracted the present writer's attention to the community was the visible sentiment of pride that the residents had in their community. It should be noted that prior to the field work that took place during 1966-1967, the present writer's contact with the community, although extending intermittently over a period of twenty years, was limited to the extremes of the vacation period described above. The sentiment of pride served to stimulate an interest in the community and later was important in prompting the full scale study of the community. However, this sentiment of pride was observed during the vacation period and was displayed by both vacation residents and permanent residents. Both resident groupings, both sex groupings, and

different age groupings displayed the sentiment of pride in a variety of ways. A man painting a fence would state, "I want our town to look nice." A woman having worked all day in preparation for a community association supper would say, "We have good people in our community and we enjoy working together." A teenage boy would boast, "It's a great place to live with fishing in the summer, hunting in the fall, and snowmobiling in the winter." Comments such as these seemed to recommend the community because they seemed to be indicators of high socio-cultural integration. The accuracy of the initial observation of the sentiment of pride and the degree to which the observed pride was an accurate indication of socio-cultural integration will be examined in the presentation of findings in Part Two of the present work. However, the observed presence of the sentiment of pride must be considered as one of the main factors in the selection of Lake N for the purpose of a community study.

Because Lake N was platted in 1897, it has an established grid pattern with blocks and alleys, thereby giving the village the planned physical appearance of a larger town or city. Most of the villages in the area of Lake N are not arranged according to a grid pattern as these villages grew in a random fashion with the majority of houses scattered around the business area, some clusters of houses being evident, but with nothing resembling the regular arrangement of streets and lots found in Lake N. Not only was Lake N platted at an early period but it was a lumbering town controlled by the gigantic Weyerhaeuser Company. During the time of the Weyerhaeuser Lumber Mill operations, the village of Lake N became a company town in many respects. Needing housing for supervisory personnel the Weyerhaeuser Company built a number of houses, many of which

are standing today. These houses possess a considerable structural similarity and have the effect of reinforcing the earlier planned physical arrangement by reason of the Weyerhaeuser houses conformance to this physical arrangement.

The physical arrangement was one of the factors that recommended Lake N as a location in which to undertake a community study. Small communities are recommended by Redfield (101, p. 4) and Arensberg (2, pp. 7-27) in their discussions of the holistic approach. Lake N is a small community, having a permanent population of about 350 people, but it has some of the physical characteristics of a larger town or city. It is possible that a problem studied in this community setting could be generalized to larger population centers, with certain reservations, because of the similarity in physical arrangement that Lake N has to many centers of larger population. Furthermore, the regular arrangement of houses in the fashion of the grid pattern has the effect of concentrating the population that lives at the north end of the lake, thereby facilitating both the patterns of neighboring, that may have a positive contribution in promoting socio-cultural integration, and the task of observation that is required by the proposed design of the study. For the three reasons of increased generalizability, socio-cultural integration being possibly fostered by the village's physical arrangement, and the advantage of having a concentrated population for the successful utilization of the observation technique, Lake N seemed to be a logical choice for a community study.

Another important factor in the selection of Lake N for the purpose of a community study may be called the present writer's accessibility to

the community. As was mentioned above, Lake N has been a familiar place to the present writer intermittently for twenty years. Although this contact was limited to the vacation period, knowledge of the community was gained through relatives who resided in the community on a permanent basis. Residence in Lake N by these relatives and the present writer's past residence in Lake N were thought to increase the accessibility to the community for the purposes of research. The suspicion that kinship ties within the community would be a research asset was later supported as not only was the status of "sociological researcher" conferred on the present writer, but the statuses of "nephew of a permanent resident" and "grandson of a former resident" served to legitimate the former status. Statuses gained through kinship thereby increased the accessibility of information to the investigator that might otherwise be restricted from outsiders. Recognizing the positive effect of kinship ties in community studies, anthropologists are frequently integrated into the kinship structure of the people that they are studying. The present writer saw that his accessibility to information within the community would be increased and thereby his effectiveness as an investigator would be increased. Coupled with the observed presence of pride in the community and the advantages gained by the physical arrangement of the community, the present writer's accessibility to the community promoted the selection of Lake N as the location for a community study.

With the background to Lake N and the reasons for the selection of this community for the purposes of a community study set out, it is appropriate to turn to a consideration of the specific research problem. The specific research problem to be examined within the community grew out

of the present writer's Master's thesis which deals with theoretical considerations of social power (62). A preliminary statement of the research problem to be investigated, the community of Lake N, is presented below.

The research problem

The specific research problem of the present study is to examine the process of social power within the vacation community of Lake N with reference to the mutual interdependence between the dynamics of social power and the total socio-cultural integration-disintegration processes and to the mutual interdependencies between the dynamics of social power and the total socio-cultural change maintenance processes. How does the process of social power alter and how is it altered by the socio-cultural integration-disintegration processes? How does the process of social power promote socio-cultural change or maintenance and how does socio-cultural change or maintenance affect the process of social power? Of course, in the investigation of these questions it becomes necessary to explore the mutual interdependencies between the processes of socio-cultural integration-disintegration and socio-cultural change-maintenance. Thus the problem immediately widens to include another mutually interdependent relationship, and then in the manner of the holistic concern, attention turns to the relation of the whole community with the total problem and the total problem with the whole community. Perhaps the best way to visualize the present research problem is by way of the diagram which follows.

The process of social power lies at the core of the present research

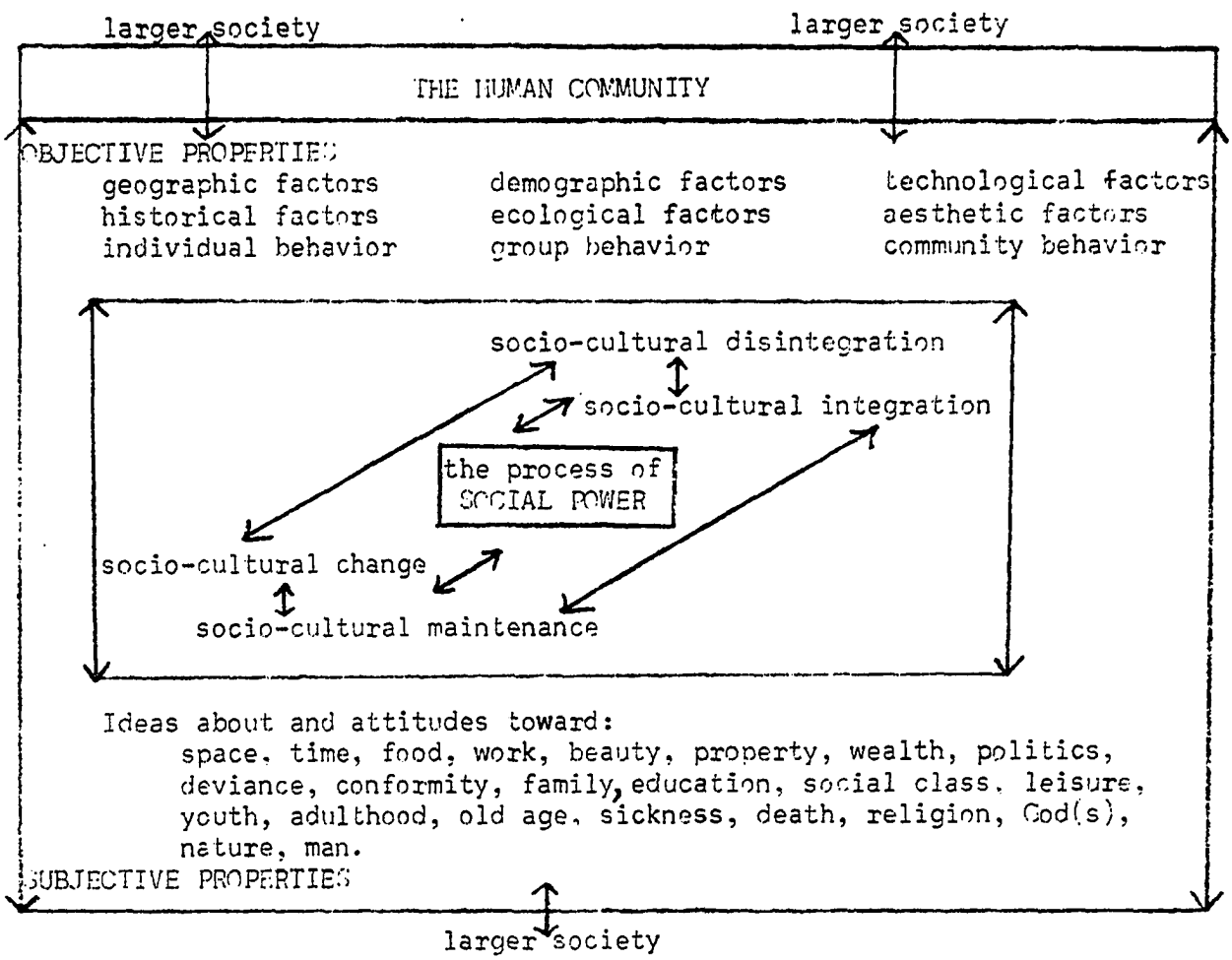


Figure 5. The specific research problem relative to the total community and larger society

problem as illustrated in Figure 5. Its mutually interdependent relations with the processes of socio-cultural integration-disintegration and socio-cultural change-maintenance are shown surrounding the core because the specific research problem is to examine their relation to the process of social power and social power's relation to them. The objective properties of the community, shown at the top of Figure 5 within the outer boundary, and subjective properties of the community, shown at the bottom of Figure 5 within the outer boundary, are shown to be interdependently related with the specific research problem as the specific research problem is interrelated with the total complex of structures, activities, and ideas that comprise the human community. In turn, the human community is shown to be related to the larger society such that it both affects and is affected by the larger society.

To what extent is the process of social power controlled by the processes of social power in the larger society? To what extent are the processes of social power within the larger society controlled by the process of social power within the community? How are socio-cultural integration-disintegration and socio-cultural change-maintenance within the community altered by their counterparts in the larger society? What are the influences of the objective properties and subjective properties within the community and in the larger society on the questions of relationship raised above? By taking the holistic approach the immediate research problem becomes compounded to the extent that the limits of expression are reached in trying to express the numerous mutual interdependencies.

A more detailed statement of the research problem will be presented at the end of the next chapter. The statement of the problem will take the form of a list of questions that were drawn up prior to the intensive field work phase of the study. These questions served to guide the present study in the same way that hypotheses would provide a direction for a logico-experimental study and, similar to hypotheses, the questions are linked to theoretical considerations that do, in fact, set up the larger framework for the present study. The elaboration of the theoretical frame of reference, which gives rise to the research questions, is the topic of Chapter Three.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS: SOCIETAL, CULTURAL, AND INDIVIDUAL PERSPECTIVES WITH REGARD TO INTEGRATION, CHANGE AND SOCIAL POWER WITHIN A COMMUNITY

C. Wright Mills has commented that, "How different social scientists go about their work, and what they accomplish by it, often do not seem to have any real common denominator" (78, p. 1). Both the procedure of investigation and the goal of investigation are, or at least should be, the product of theoretical direction, or lack of the same, taken by the investigator. However, when considering a theoretical direction it seems incomplete to limit one's scope to the specific problem or level of social reality scheduled for investigation. Limitation of theoretical concern to the specific problem of level of social reality seem incomplete because the specific problem or level of social reality cannot set the theoretical direction independently but is influenced by larger theoretical considerations. Once established, these larger theoretical considerations do not have to be returned to in every instance of empirical exposition, but initially it would appear that the more limited theoretical concern essential to empirical investigation can only take form when seen in the larger context. It is the theoretical direction, both larger and limited, that should provide the common denominator of sociological investigation.

The present chapter will commence with an overview of the larger theoretical concerns of society and culture and then proceed to an operational treatment of socio-cultural integration, change, and social power. The larger theoretical concerns set the stage for the

conceptualization of "community" and also have implications in terms of the methodological discussions contained in the previous chapters. From these statements of larger theoretical concerns, a model of man, society, and culture with special regard for change will be briefly synthesized. The survey of the larger theoretical conceptions and the resulting synthesis should answer, at the general level, the question of how the present investigation will proceed conceptually and what goals are to be pursued in the investigation that follows. To the extent that the present work has roots in what Mills calls "the classic tradition" (78, pp. 1-17) it should also possess a common denominator with much of sociology.

Society, man, and methodology

Why is it necessary to establish a firm conception of the man-society relationship and the nature of each entity? The answer to this question may be sought at three levels, as follows: 1) the epistemological level, 2) the methodological level, and 3) the developmental level. The reasons supplied at each of the levels recommend that an appreciation of the nature of man and society and the relationships between the two be established before empirical investigation is undertaken.

Epistemology, the theory of knowledge, presupposes some character of the subject matter investigated in its raising the question, "How do we know?" If it is recommended, as it is in science, that reliance be placed on observation, then some notion has to be present of the observability of the object of inquiry. In the social sciences, therefore, it becomes essential in the formulation of an epistemology appropriate to the subject

matter of man and society to clarify, insofar as is possible without a fully developed epistemology, the nature of man and society. Once a statement of the nature of the subject matter is available it is possible to return to the development of a more complete theory of knowledge appropriate to that subject matter.

At a more immediate level, it is clear that there is a relationship between sociological theory and the methodology of empirical research (76, pp. 85-114; 103). It has already been suggested that certain methodologies presuppose particular sociological theories as well (17, p. 21). The larger theoretical directions of the present study will be reviewed; the question that will also be asked is, "What methodological directions correspond to generally accepted sociological conceptions of man and society?" So as to ascertain the correspondence between methodological directions and the generally accepted models of man and society, it is necessary to establish a firm conception of the man-society relationship.

"The important and all-too-neglected task in philosophy and social theory is that of observing the ways in which abstract concepts are converted by their creators into methodologies and perspectives which provide new illuminations of the world" (87, p. 38). The classic tradition of sociological theory is conceptually rich but by present day standards, methodologically poor. What must be attempted is the accomplishment of the task of, "...observing the ways in which abstract concepts are converted...into methodologies and perspectives..." in a manner consistent with the intention of the theorist. With careful interpretation of the intent and content of the semenal ideas contained in much of sociological theory it should be possible to develop a more consistent relationship

between theory and methodology. The improvement of the relationship between theory and methodology, referred to here as taking place on the developmental level, can only be accomplished through a return to the central question of the nature of man and society.

Four theories have been selected as being conceptually powerful and instrumental in the formation of the theoretical perspective that has guided the present study. The four theorists responsible for these theories are: Emile Durkheim, Georg Simmel, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, and Talcott Parsons. Treatment of the theoretical contributions of the four theorists will not be exhaustive as such a task would be a study unto itself. Instead, treatment of the four theories will be limited to aspects that will yield a fairly complete view of the man-society relationship and the methodological implications of this relationship contained within each theory. Each of the four theories will be treated separately in terms of the aspects of society, man, and methodology, and then they will be, to a limited degree, synthesized.

One of the warnings which was impressed upon students when the present writer was first being initiated into theoretical sociological thinking was to be consistent with the theory being dealt with. That is, the sociologist cannot proceed through the storehouse of sociological theory as if he were shopping at the supermarket, taking a concept here and a convenient formulation there (56). Instead, the presence of an attractive concept should lead to an examination of the entire sociological theory. It is hoped that the present treatment of selected aspects of four theories, their comparison and partial synthesis does not do an injustice to the principle of consistency in theory handling.

That the present concern with the man-society question is not

removed from the mainstream of sociological thought is shown by the direction of inquiry being among the main tendencies of sociology. C. Wright Mills refers to three tendencies of sociology and includes among these the tendency, "Toward a systematic theory of the 'nature of man and society'" (80, p. 23). However, there is a pronounced limitation, according to Mills, if one intends to examine the nature of man and society from the limited vantage point of community study (79, p. 52). Recognizing this limitation, considerable caution will be exercised in making statements about the nature of man and society from the findings of the present study but it should be noted that even in light of this limitation, a correspondence must exist between the society and community as the latter has to be seen in the context of the former.

Emile Durkheim Without exception, Emile Durkheim's sociologistic view of society stands as the strongest and most insistent declaration of the reality of society. For Durkheim, society is not just a convenient conceptual fiction, although he concedes that it is sometimes incorrectly seen as such because its existence is of a different sort than that of individuals (112, p. 12). The existence of society is that of a unity of pattern, a system of relationships having the characteristics of being more or less permanent and definite (1, p. 174). As such, this system of relationships is not reducible to the individual level but can only be understood at its own level, the level of social reality.

Not only does Durkheim's conception of society stand in opposition to reductionism, that possible error of explaining the presence and processes of societal phenomenon on the psychological level, but it insists that society is sui generis (29, p. 16). That is to say that society,

as a reality, is causally complete in that the products or past relationships and shared expectations regenerate themselves rather than relying on outside forces to bring them into existence. The existence of society is expressed through what Durkheim termed "collective representations."

Collective representations are, "...the results of an immense cooperation which stretches out not only into space but into time as well, to make them a multitude of minds have associated, united, and combined their ideas and sentiments; for them, long generations have accumulated their experience and their knowledge" (29, p. 16). The realm of ideas that Durkheim refers to as collective representations would be termed "culture" by most contemporary sociologists. Durkheim does not make the distinction between society and culture but rather he treats them together with the former concept being the general term inclusive of both. Collective representations fit into this general conception of society as the shared idea component which is external to individuals in the time prior to socialization, is internalized into individuals during the process of socialization and exerts a directive force in individual behavior following internalization.

How does the individual stand in Durkheim's sociologistic view of society? The mass of associated individuals may be seen as the substratum of society (112, p. 16). In associating with one another, individuals create the collective representations and the network of relationships that comprise society when combined with the same patterns of the past. Society, therefore, is not external to man but instead the two as fused (87, p. 49). Where Durkheim makes his great contribution is in his perception that, "Collective life is not born from individual life but, it is,

on the contrary, the second which is born from the first" (28, p. 279). If this view of the man-society relationship is taken by itself, Durkheim's full contribution cannot be appreciated for the interdependence between the two entities is clearly understood in Durkheim's work. "But, on the other hand, society exists and lives only in and through individuals. If the idea of society were extinguished in individual minds and the beliefs, traditions, and aspirations of the group were no longer felt and shared by individuals, society would die" (29, p.347).

The statement that society is the creator of the individual and the behavior of individuals is the substance of society can be used to summarize Durkheim's conception of the man-society relationship and the view of the same relationship that is held in contemporary sociology (87, p. 50). With the exception of his failure to separate culture from society, Durkheim conveys a model of the man-society relationship that has been instrumental in molding the current view on the subject. In light of this considerable correspondence between the views of Durkheim and those of contemporary sociology regarding the man-society relationship, it will be fruitful to explore the correspondence between Durkheim's methodological views and those of present day sociology.

Durkheim was reacting to the views of man and society that were current in an individualistic age and to the atomistic theories that were consistent with these views. In his work, The Division of Labor in Society, (29) he makes a frontal attack on contract theory and utilitarian thought. The alternative to the atomistic theories is, in many respects, similar to the holistic view of the world. "The world of experience contains many organic entities in the sense that the functioning whole has properties which cannot be derived by direct generalization from the

properties of the units or parts and their elementary relations taken in isolation from their concrete involvement in the whole. The breakdown of a complex concrete entity by unit analysis destroys in such a case certain features of it, which can only be observed in the whole" (95, p. 353). In advocating this "holistic" perspective and rejecting the atomistic theories that revolve around the utilitarian position, Durkheim is critical of the "cognitive bias" that is inherent in "falsely rationalistic psychology." Explanation of human social behavior in terms of individual motives has a strong "cognitive bias" because it places such great weight on the subjective factors at the expense of the objective factors.

In place of aggregate psychology, Durkheim recommends the study of objective facts or what he prefers to call "social facts." "Sociological method as we practice it rests wholly on the basic principle that social facts must be studied as things, that is, as realities external to the individual" (31, pp. 35-38). As such, social facts are not properties either of individuals or of aggregates of individuals but instead they belong to the social realm which is external to the individual; they are outside an individual's personal control but they do constrain his behavior. Individuals are thus faced with a set of conditions, social facts, to which they must try to adapt their actions.

If sociology is to study social facts rather than the mental states of individuals, what data sources are available to the sociologists? Social facts are institutionalized and associative behavior patterns in which individuals are immeshed. The network of institutionalized and associative behavior patterns constrain individuals so that their behavior has an arrangement and order to it which is, in part, what is meant by

society. In order to study society, in order to ascertain social facts, it is necessary to study either ongoing social behavior or its products (87, pp. 44-48). By studying ongoing social behavior and the products of ongoing social behavior rather than the mental states of individuals, the sociologist is able to ascertain social facts, which are, "...ways of acting, thinking, and feeling, external to the individual and endowed with the power of coercion by reason of which they control him" (30, pp. 3-4).

Earlier it was stated that in reacting to the atomistic theories current in his lifetime, Durkheim developed a view of society that is similar to the holistic viewpoint. There are, however, some important exceptions to this similarity of views in that Durkheim excludes factors of heredity and the non-social environment from consideration and tries to proceed with a causal system of explanation rather than a multiple factor explanatory system. In excluding the factors of heredity and the non-social environment from consideration, Durkheim limits the scope of his concern to a point that it is considered unacceptable in terms of the holistic perspective. By insisting on causal analysis, (30, p. 173) Durkheim moves away from the social whole toward the analysis of elementary relations considered in isolation. To an extent, the movement away from consideration of the social whole and the emphasis on cause is a product of the limitations inherent in the technique of statistical correlation that were not recognized in Durkheim's lifetime. Durkheim thought that statistical correlation would permit causal relationships to be determined within the context of the social milieu (30, pp. 130-136). Unfortunately, one of the limitations of statistical correlation is that the demonstrated relationship cannot be considered in a causal context and

furthermore such relationships frequently involve no more than elementary relations.

How does Durkheim's methodological contribution relate to present day sociological methodology? Nisbet seems to think that there is little difference between the methodology of Durkheim and that of present day sociology when he states that, "Today, Durkheim's Rules read carefully and with allowances only for polemical emphasis and vagaries of expression, seem to contain little that goes beyond what sociologists regularly assume about the nature of social reality in their empirical studies of institutionalized behavior" (87, p. 38). There is one major exception to Nisbet's statement, and that is where Durkheim insists upon the study of social facts, properties external to individuals, present day sociology is primarily concerned with subjective factors, thereby perpetuating the "cognitive bias" that Durkheim sought to reject. In fact, this exception is so major that it is difficult to accept Nisbet's statement at all if, in fact, the thesis of Durkheim's methodological discussion is, "...that social facts cannot be decomposed or reduced to individual, psychological or biological data much less to mere reflections of geographic or climatic substance" (87, p. 37).

Durkheim's conception of the man-society relationship and his model for the nature of each of these entities is reflected in much of contemporary sociological theory. Why, then, has contemporary sociological methodology failed to build measures for social facts? Instead, contemporary sociological methodology has moved almost exclusively in the direction of aggregate psychology thereby excluding the objective factors that Durkheim would term social facts. What is even more confusing is the lip

service that is given to Durkheim's man-society formulation and to his work, The Rules of Sociological Method (30) while the majority of empirical studies in sociology, and the methodology that is being developed through these studies, has little relation to the direction that Durkheim set for sociology. To employ a current phrase, the discrepancy between sociological theory and the practices of empirical research might be called "sociology's credibility gap." Durkheim's work in contrast with contemporary empirical research practices suggest one instance of "sociology's credibility gap."

Georg Simmel Educated as a philospher, Georg Simmel's approach to sociology has been criticized for being clever but without system, insightful but not well rounded. Donald Levine classifies Simmel's work according to the dominant recurrent topics found in his work. In so doing, Levine presents three categories of Simmel's work: 1) social processes, which includes subjects such as subordination and domination, secrecy, reconciliation, and gratitude, 2) social types, which includes work on the stranger, the miser, the coquette, the modern cynic, the poor man, and the non-participant, 3) developmental patterns, which includes historical processes, processes of tranformation, and processes of genesis (66, pp. 12-16). Of these categories, the most frequent and important in Simmel's work, according to Levine, is "social processes", however, all three of the categories may be considered as subdivisions of the central category in all of Simmel's work, that of "form."

If there is a central theme or system in Simmel's sociological theory it would have to be said to center around the concept "form." Having written his doctoral dissertation on Kant's theory of matter (114) it is

not surprising to find Simmel borrowing Kant's distinction between "content" and "form" and employing them in defining the limits and subject matter of the emerging field of sociology. "The problem of sociology is to identify the 'pure forms of association '" (66, p. 25). Form, as Simmel is using it, refers to the pattern or arrangement of social relationships as distinguished from the content of particulars of social relationships. A clearer picture of Simmel's insistence that form should be the focus of sociological investigation emerges in his conception of society and the group.

Simmel does not concur with Durkheim on the independent existence of society nor does he take the individualistic or atomistic view that society is nothing and the individual is everything. He is in agreement with the point that the group is more than a subjective synthesis and he seems willing to grant society the status of an objective unity if an objective unity can, and he insists that it can, be said to be produced by the reciprocal activity of parts (114, p. 27). In insisting on the reciprocal activity of parts as a criteria for society's existence as an objective unity, Simmel reintroduces individuals as the elements or parts that give society form through their relationships. "Society, then, is for Simmel neither a collective being nor a fictitious entity; rather, it exists in the processes of interaction among individuals and groups" (66, pp. 19-20).

Simmel does not distinguish, with any degree of clarity, between society and groups for he considers them both social unities. His purpose is to ascertain the form of group unity. "The essence of group unity, then, consists of the reciprocal relations of its elements, and a group or

society may be said to exist where individuals are in reciprocal relation" (114, p.29). Social unities may consist of cooperative or conflict relations insofar as the relations are reciprocal. These reciprocal relations are called sociation by Simmel and are of interest in that they have pattern or arrangement which he calls "form."

"Forms emerge as appropriate modes of channeling the life processes; once emerged, a form confronts the vital process which creates it with an independence and a development - or rigidity - that follows from its own nature" (66, p.20). As such, forms exert directive pressures on individuals in much the same way that Durkheim views the operation of social facts. Both Simmel's "forms" and Durkheim's "social facts" are the institutionalized and associative behavior patterns in which individuals are immeshed. By reason of channeling the life processes of individuals, both "forms" and "social facts" may be seen as exercising the power of control relative to individuals. The essence of society, of the social unity, is to be found in the forms of sociation.

Because the presence of society is hinged on the ongoing processes of reciprocal relations which are manifest through the forms of sociation, it is possible to speak of varying degrees of society. "Society is not a single, fixed concept; there can be more of it or less of it. There is never in existence 'society' in an absolute sense, as a condition necessary to enable these interactions to take place, for there is no reciprocal influencing in an absolute sense, there are merely particular species" (114, p. 30). The presence of society may therefore be found in differing gradiations depending on the extent of sociation. A collection of individuals who are not associated do not comprise a society whereas a

collection of individuals immeshed in reciprocal relations may be termed a society to the extent that reciprocal relations are present.

Society is seen, then, not as an absolute entity but as a process that is continually being recreated by reciprocal relations and the pattern of reciprocal relations is, in turn, influencing and even determining individuals in their actions. It is through sociation that Simmel seeks to understand the man-society relationship. "The individual is contained in sociation and, at the same time finds himself confronted by it. He is both the link in the organism of sociation and the autonomous whole, he exists both for society and for himself" (109, p. 350). It is in society that the individual can realize his wholeness but at times his wholeness is realized at the expense of society's wholeness. Society's wholeness is dependent upon the individuals and at times, at the expense of the individual's wholeness. Thus, a potential for conflict exists in the man-society relationship.

Through the creation of "forms", society has something similar to existence because the forms make demands upon individuals. Insofar as the society, through its processing forms, makes demands upon individuals it may be said that individuals are forced with the task of dealing with an alien party (110, p. 58). As the individual is immeshed in a web of group affiliations (111, pp. 127-195) he is a part of society and apart from society. "A society is, therefore, a structure which consists of beings who stand inside and outside of it at the same time. This fact forms the basis for one of the most important societal phenomena, namely that between society and its component individuals a relation may exist

as if between two parties" (109, p. 347).

If society appears only to limit and confound the development of an individual's wholeness by standing in relation to an individual as an alien party, then Simmel's conception of society would have to be judged to be negative. Instead, Simmel is concerned with the positive benefits of society for the individual's fulfillment as well as with the alien party relationship. "The cumulative effect of group affiliation turns out to be increasing differentiation and individualization" (67, p. 126). With insight that has been empirically borne in our contemporary studies of the effect of group affiliation, Simmel points out that the greater an individual's range of social interaction and the larger the groups in which the individual interacts, the more that individual is going to be dissimilar to those with whom he interacts (114, p. 198). However, Simmel makes it very clear in his sociological writings that the dissimilarity of individuals is within the province of psychology and not a concern of sociology.

"The socialization of individuals is the result of psychological processes within these individuals. But sociology is not interested in these processes as such" (114, p. 50). Where psychology and social psychology investigate the forms of the processes of thought and individual action, sociology is to accomplish the exploration of forms of reciprocal relations that exist between acting individuals. The mental processes of individuals, even if collectively described, do not constitute the subject matter of sociology but rather are within the province of psychology. In a similar sense, sociology is not to involve itself with the particulars of human relationships but is to abstract the forms of sociation, leaving

the content of human relations to the other social sciences.

With the proper concern of sociology limited to the forms of sociation, Simmel takes issue with the essential theme of the holistic viewpoint. Society regarded from the psychological perspective consists of the nature and motives which the individuals bring to the situation. As has already been suggested, these motives and emotions are not the subject matter of sociology. Societal phenomenon regarded from a factual reference point yields specifics that Simmel terms "content". Again, it has been suggested that sociology is not directly concerned with societal content. Finally, society may be examined with reference to the forms of sociation. The examination of forms of sociation is the task of sociology. However, to gain a complete understanding of the social actuality, it is necessary to take all three of these perspectives into consideration for they are all complementary and essential to grasping the social actuality in its totality.

It is at this point that Simmel can be seen at odds with the holistic frame of reference in that he restricts sociological consideration to forms of sociation but at the same time openly admits that total understanding of the social actuality requires the inclusion of the two other points of view (114, p. 73). In part, Simmel's appreciation of the totality of the social actuality qualifies him as an adherent of the holistic frame of reference but because he subdivides the tasks of investigating the social totality and leaves the additional task of synthesizing the results of these separate investigations to an undetermined discipline, he, in turn, disqualifies himself from a holistic position.

In his own work, Simmel relied heavily on the historical approach and

observation-comparison. Committed to the development of sociology as a science, Simmel recognizes the necessity of building a clear and productive methodology for the study of forms of sociation. His statement on this point is timely in that the question of which should come first, the investigation or the technique, is still a debated point. "Scientific labor will, of course, never be satisfied with vague and intuitive treatment of details, but science would be doomed to sterility in new fields if it had to wait for completely formulated methodology and technique" (114, p. 78). Much of Simmel's work contains rich description of forms of sociation. These forms of sociation are abstracted out of the particulars, or contents, of situations observed by Simmel or gleaned from historical accounts. That these rich description are, in part, the product of Simmel's unique ability to grasp and convey forms of sociation is accepted. However, it would appear that something could be built from this insightful beginning in the investigation of forms of sociation. In considering the methodological use patterns current in American sociology it would have to be concluded that the methodological lead instigated by Simmel has been abandoned or largely neglected in American sociology.

It is surprising that Simmel's theoretical and methodological contributions are not incorporated into contemporary sociological theory and methodology more than they are (66, p. 10). His conception of the nature of society and man's relation to society is without parallel in clarity and insight. Moreover, his definition of the task of sociology should be a challenge to the increasing sophistication of contemporary sociology. If Simmel's challenge to investigate "forms" is recognized, little effort is being expended to meet the challenge. Sociology seems to be allocating

its methodological resources to the gathering and quantification of the mental states of aggregates of individuals, a task Simmel assigns to psychology and social psychology, and to a lesser extent to the accumulation of factual information surrounding societal relationships. In so doing, the forms of sociation which comprise the subject matter of sociology are being neglected. Again, this discrepancy between sociological theory and sociological methodology may be cited as an instance of "sociology's credibility gap."

Radcliffe-Brown Usually considered as an anthropologist by American sociologists, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown defines himself as a social anthropologist or comparative sociologist. According to his self definition and his definition for the fields of sociology and anthropology, sociology is similar to social anthropology and both are different from cultural anthropology in that the emphasis of both of the former is placed on society rather than culture" (100, p. 189). In some of his writings Radcliffe-Brown suggests that the concept "culture" should be abandoned completely, (99, p. 51) but this is only a momentary abandonment so that he will be in a position to emphasize his social systems thinking. From his contribution to sociology through his elaboration of the "social system" and by his own self definition as a social anthropologist-sociologist, it behooves American sociology to take a more extensive look at the theoretical contribution of the British comparative sociologist, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown.

The influence of Durkheim on Radcliffe-Brown's theoretical formulations is acknowledged as well as are the departures from Durkheim's major propositions. Departing from Durkheim's contention that there is a social

reality external to people that possesses something of a substantial existence, Radcliffe-Brown, like Simmel, insists that the individual has to be taken into account in considering society (99, p. 56). Having reintroduced the individual as essential to the consideration of society, individuals are seen as the components in a natural system exhibiting a fabric of interconnectedness apart from the single individual components. "The individuals exist as units, but also, considered through time, each are characterized by a set of related acts of behavior which by themselves constitute a system" (99, p. 43). At the general level, social phenomena are constituted by the associations between individual organisms which may be said to exist in an array of forms (100, p. 189).

For the most part, Radcliffe-Brown abstains from the use of the concept "society", preferring to employ the concept "social system." A social system and a society are not the same, however, for, "...a social system can be said to exist whenever two human beings come together and find some convergence of their interests" (100, p. 59). Society, on the other hand, has reference to a human group which is territorially delineated from other groups by the homogeneity of interests and behaviors of the interrelated individuals comprising it. A society can be a social system but a social system does not have to be designated as a society.

A social system consists of the following: 1) social structure, 2) the totality of social usages, and 3) modes of thinking and feeling that are tied to social usages and social relations which are reflected in social structure as culture (99, p. 152). In order to understand fully the meaning of "social system", each of these constituents needs to be explored. As the social system concept can be employed at the societal level

of social reality, the understanding of this concept is essential to Radcliffe-Brown's conception of the nature of society.

Social structure is the product of social relations between individuals. These social relations between individuals are real, that is, they are a part of phenomenal reality (99, p. 43). It is in social relations that individuals are able to experience the interconnectedness that in turn guides their behavior. What brings individuals into social relations? At best it might be said that a subjective motivation brings individuals into social relations, but having engaged in the purposive acts of relating to other persons requires individuals to make adjustments in their behavior. In part, the product of social relations is that the actors modify their behavior so as to produce a state of coaptation or fitting together (99, p. 90). Whether the social relationship is based in cooperation or conflict, coaptation is produced such that the component actors are interrelated into a social fabric. The sum total of social relationships at a given moment of time constitutes a social structure. Because social structure consists of the interconnectedness of component individuals, it is sometimes mistakenly supposed that the study of social relations is the study of social structures. A particular social relation is only a small part of the entire network of social relations and it is not the particular social relations but the total network which Radcliffe-Brown terms the social structure (100, pp. 190-192). Accordingly, the social structure consists both of the total of social relations between persons and the differentiation of persons into different strata by virtue of their status-roles relative to a shared evaluative usage. It is imperative, therefore, to consider social usages when considering social

structure for it is the social usage that gives direction to the social structure.

Social usages are both in the behavior of single individuals and in the behavior of individuals as components of the social structure. Although they may be observed in the behavior of individuals, social usages have their origin in the social system and can only have meaning within that context. There are two kinds of social usages, the actual observed behavior and the normative expectations. To anticipate a point that will be discussed when the methodological implications of Radcliffe-Brown's contribution is explored, there is quite a difference between these two kinds of social usages in the way in which they manifest themselves. Actual observed behavior includes the behavior of talking but must be approached through observation rather than through asking questions of respondents as to how they would behave. On the contrary, normative expectations cannot be explicated through observation but are in the shared subjective realm and must be approached through questioning. It may be seen, therefore, that social usages are of two kinds such that the two kinds complement one another and each kind must be considered in terms of the other (99, p.57).

Social usages combine with social structure to make up what Radcliffe-Brown calls "social morphology." "The investigation of social usages - of structural form - in different social systems we might call social morphology" (99, p. 56). Social morphology, as Radcliffe-Brown envisions it, consists of two systems that are highly interrelated, one system of relations called structure and the other system of behaviors and prescriptions for behaviors called usages. He further sees the study

of social morphology tied to the study of social physiology which explores the question, "How does the social system function?"

Both social usages and social structure are also linked in Radcliffe-Brown's notion of culture. Social usages may be seen as the behaviors and expectations for a number of individuals but at the same time they may be seen as the product in those individuals of the standardized action patterns characteristic of the larger social system (99, p. 106). When social usages are seen as the product of standardized action patterns in the larger social system they may be considered as the product of culture. Culture consists of a set of rules, those that establish the pattern of coaptation, and symbols whose meanings are shared by members of the larger social system (99, p.99). Because culture consists, in part, of the rules that establish the pattern of coaptation, culture defines the social structure. "You cannot have coaptation without culture and you cannot have the continuity of culture without the continuity of social structure" (99, p. 108). Culture and social structure may therefore be seen as mutually interdependent, each responsible for establishing the continuity of the other.

Radcliffe-Brown is emphatic on the point that there can be no science of culture because in trying to study culture, the acts of behavior of persons within the social structure are encountered, social usages are to be considered, and therefore it is the social system that is being studied. As culture is a characteristic of a social system, a science of culture is not possible and in a similar fashion, neither a science of social usage nor a science of social structure are possible. If these phenomena are to be studied, they must be studied as part of the science of social

systems (99, pp. 106-107).

A social system may be considered as to either its morphology or its physiology. To consider one supposes the other for the two aspects of the social system are only separated for analytical convenience. Social physiology concentrates on the functions or system maintaining activities of a social system thereby trying to determine how the social system remains intact. "The proper or essential activity of a social system is a) to provide a certain adaptation to a particular environment and b) to provide a certain integration, i.e., unity of individuals into an orderly arrangement" (99, p. 154). Radcliffe-Brown's functional concerns are central to his social systems thinking, however, they need only be touched on for the present purpose.

How does the individual fit into Radcliffe-Brown's conception of the social system? A distinction is made in speaking of individuals as opposed to persons such that an individual is considered to be the biological unit and a person is a complex of social relationships (100, p. 194). Accordingly, Radcliffe-Brown is not concerned with individuals but instead is concerned with persons. His concern with persons is sociological rather than psychological such that he approaches persons from the perspective of the collective system rather than the unit person system. The data of psychology and sociology are generally the same in that their source is human behavior; however, the difference in the perspective of the investigator results in the data being arranged differently (99, p. 48). If investigations and resulting generalizations deal with the binding together of persons, they are sociological; if they deal with the characteristics of human beings, they are psychological (99, p. 52).

The rejection of reductionism is quite clear in Radcliffe-Brown's view of the proper mode of investigating society. "No amount of investigation can explain the characteristics of society by simple reference to the nature of human beings; but an investigation of human beings arranged in certain order, yes. The social scientist is studying the structural arrangement of the units and takes the internal structure of the units for granted" (99, p. 49). How, then, does the social scientist go about studying the structural arrangement of persons?

Noting the advantage of precise tools such as mathematics, Radcliffe-Brown recommends that mathematics be employed in sociological investigation but he is referring to a special sort of mathematics. He does not see much future for quantitative measurement but instead recommends the use of comparative non-quantitative correlation. Such a tool is quite consistent with the above summary of the science of social systems recommended by Radcliffe-Brown. The method that results from the directions prescribed in this approach places a heavy emphasis on the comparative approach.

Description is the raw material of comparison and therefore it is essential to begin the study of social systems with observations that will yield descriptions. Such observations must be made directly so as to ascertain actual behavior patterns; questioning must be used to determine norms and, in part, culture. The attempt of the investigator's observation and questioning is not designed to accumulate information so that the resulting description will be a chronicle of particular or unique occurrences. Instead, the resulting description should contain general events which recur (100, p. 192). Like Simmel, Radcliffe-Brown sees the purpose of description to be the presentation of forms of association. The task

of grasping the complex network of forms within a social system is considerable, but when the social system is approached as a network of dynamic structures having functions relative to the maintenance of the whole social system, the task becomes gigantic.

The limitation of trying to study and describe all the structural and functional ingredients of a social system is recognized by Radcliffe-Brown. "One of the most important things that people sometimes forget is that, as is perfectly obvious, one can never define all of the functions of an activity, usage, or belief, not if one wrote twenty volumes on the given society" (99, p. 85). Given this limitation, it is necessary to recognize first, that the social system cannot be observed in its entirety at any one moment and, second, that there will be some omissions in the observation-description of the entire social system. The same sort of limitation was mentioned earlier with regard to the natural history approach and the holistic approach. Again, the answer to the limitation is that a partial account of the system in question is better than no knowledge of it at all. Accordingly, Radcliffe-Brown proceeds by recognizing the limitations inherent in trying to deal with large and complex systems but proceeds with the investigation of such systems, all the while trying to devise new techniques for better descriptive coverage.

In that Radcliffe-Brown shares the recognition of the limitations inherent in trying to describe the structure and function of complex systems with the holistic approach, it is of interest to determine the points of difference and similarity between them. The social system, as conceptualized by Radcliffe-Brown, is a bounded system of lesser scope than is consistent with the holistic approach. "In a social system the

entities are human beings, in certain relations, which are differentiated from and isolated from all other relations in the universe" (99, p.43). The treatment of the social system is holistic but the system is internally and externally restricted, with the exception of the adaptation function's relation to the environment, such that it isolates the range of concerns included within the holistic frame of reference. It may be said, therefore, that Radcliffe-Brown is holistic in approach but not in scope.

Descriptions of single social systems are not sufficient by themselves; instead, these descriptions constitute the beginning, not the end, of sociological investigation. "The use of comparison is indispensable. The study of a single society may provide the materials for comparative study, or it may afford occasion for hypotheses, which need to be tested with reference to other societies; it cannot give demonstrated results" (100, p. 192). The primary tool in the study of social systems is the comparison of intensive studies of single societies, communities, or whatever social systems are the focus of concern. It should be clear, however, that the comparison of social systems ultimately depends on the quality of the descriptions of the social systems being compared.

Radcliffe-Brown's social system approach has had an indirect influence on sociology in America through the work of Talcott Parsons, the next theorist whose view of society, man, and method of study will be considered. Little direct emphasis has been placed on Radcliffe-Brown's "functionalism" in the present discussion, although it should be clear that the social system as portrayed in the foregoing discussion is conceptualized as a functional system. The strand of functionalism clearly ties Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown, and Parsons together and although not an

integral part of this developmental progression of functionalism, a functional framework is also evident in Simmel's work. Radcliffe-Brown suggests the method for studying functioning social systems that will, by his reasoning, yield the greatest knowledge of the total system. That method is observation-description-comparison. There seems to be a wide acceptance of functionalism and the social systems framework in American sociology today, but methodologically the tools of observation-description-comparison are not fashionable as shown by the methodological use patterns of the 1960's discussed in Chapter One. The lack of congruence between sociological theory, much of which owes a great debt to the contributions of Radcliffe-Brown, and sociological methodology, contrast Radcliffe-Brown's recommended directions with the methodological use patterns, may be pointed to as still another instance of "sociology's credibility gap."

Talcott Parsons The foundation for much of what is contained in many standard sociological textbooks may be traced to the American sociological theorist, Talcott Parsons. Parsons' publication in 1937 of The Structure of Social Action (95) is regarded by some as a landmark in American sociology in that it clearly pointed out the relevance of systematic sociological theory for the total sociological enterprise (66, pp. 9-10). Empirical research cannot progress alone. Sociological theory must be employed in the formulation of research problems and in the application of research findings. However, Parsons' work has not progressed by his contributing to the great flow of empirical research; instead, his contribution has remained theoretical with the elaboration of the theory of action which emerged in 1937.

To do full justice to Parsons' total theoretical contribution as

presented in his theory of action would require more space and time than can be allocated here. In order to make the task manageable in terms of the present time and space resources, the topics of "society", "man", and "methodology" have been extracted from the total theoretical framework of the action schema. Unfortunately, a greater loss of continuity has been incurred in selecting these items from Parsons' work than was true with the previous theorists. In speculating on the reasons for this greater loss of continuity, several reasons come to mind, 1) the complexity of Parsons'thought and mode of expression bind these items to his presentation, 2) the scope of his total concern in the theory of action places these items in a different relationship relative to the whole theory, 3) the logical consistency of Parsons' systematically constructed schema makes it necessary to sever designated ties in extracting these items. For these reasons, extracting segments of Parsons' total theoretical contribution has the effect of presenting his work as a patchwork rather than as the well articulated theoretical system that Parsons', and others, have worked to produce. Recognizing the limitations of the present discussion, Parsons' conception of society, man, and methodology will be presented in patchwork form acknowledging that this presentation does an injustice to Parsons' complete theoretical schema, but, at the same time, considering it as acceptable for the present purpose.

Concern with society should lead to a discussion of the total social system but the concept "social system", total or partial in reference, must first be considered briefly in the context of the action system. The action system is composed of four subsystems in order of increasing energy and decreasing control, as follows: 1) the cultural system, 2) the social

system, 3) the personality system, and 4) the behavioral system. Each of these subsystems is interdependent and interpenetrating but at the same time, no subsystem may be explained by the other subsystems (11, p. 331). In terms of the present interest in the social system, therefore, the other three subsystems of the action system constitute the environment in which the social system operates. The physical-organic environment, and what Parsons refers to as "ultimate reality", which is beyond the cultural system, may also be included as part of the environment of the social system (94, p. 8 and p. 28).

The social system environment will be returned to, but first, the internal arrangement of the social system must be dealt with. A social system consists of processes of interaction that occur between system actors. In Parsons' terms, actors may be either individuals or collectives. Actors of both types may be seen as creating and perpetuating the structure of the social system through their interaction. As such, the structure of the total social system is constituted by a network of social relationships (93, p. 25).

Interaction of actors and the social structure that arises from these interactions are of primary sociological relevance. Uniformities that are found in social structures are the data of sociology and may be obtained without a detailed investigation of the internal organization of the component actors (93, p. 9). Parsons suggests that investigation of the structure of social systems should examine the structural differentiation internal to the system and the structural variability between systems. Concerned with what Radcliffe-Brown has termed the morphological and physiological aspects of the social system, Parsons places a priority of sorts

on morphological investigation of social systems. "Precisely because of the fragmentary character of our dynamic knowledge, careful and systematic attention to these problems is of the highest urgency to sociology. But at the same time it should be made quite clear that this morphological interest is not an end in itself, but its products constitute an indispensable tool for other purposes" (93, p.21).

Although he professes an interest in the morphological aspect of social systems, Parsons' greatest concern is with the physiological aspect of social systems and these are the other purposes he refers to above. With social system defined as two or more actors with different statuses and roles, interacting according to an established pattern and sharing common norms and value orientations, the stress is placed upon the action component "role" rather than on the structural component "status". Status-role is the main link between the social and personality systems and between the social and cultural systems but again it is "role" that holds the central position in complementing Parsons' interest in motivational dynamics. Motivational mechanisms are behind the maintenance or breakdown of given structural patterns and it is "role", the normatively regulated participation of actors in social interaction, that links up with these motivational mechanisms (93, p. 22). Therefore, "role", the action unit of the social system, has primary salience for Parsons' social system formulation.

"Every role, so far as it is institutionalized, involves a pattern of solidarity obligations; it entails, that is, membership in at least one collectivity" (93, p. 98). It is the collectivity that is the agent for articulating norms and implementing these norms through the deployment of

sanctions. Norms, the shared expectations for behavior, are functionally specific within collectivities. In a similar fashion, the norms are made position specific relative to the definition of roles within collectivities (92, p. 43). In dealing, therefore, with a social system, "role" is the most essential concept for sociology because it most clearly contains the key to order and institutionalized patterns within the social system which are of central interest to Parsons' theme.

Roles and norms encompass part of the notion of "constraint" that is so much a part of Durkheim's sociological concern; however, Parsons separates the cultural system and the social system, a distinction that Durkheim does not make, and in so doing divides the factors of constraint between the two systems. Culture, the symbolically organized patterns that are shared by members of total social systems, is necessary in the understanding of human action. "Human action is 'cultural' in that meanings and intentions concerning acts are formed in terms of symbolic systems (including the codes through which they operate in patterns) that focus most generally about the universal of human societies, language" (94, p. 5). Language and the meaning patterns that are symbolically organized make up the contents of culture are reflected through the general shared normative components, "values." Values, according to Parsons' schema, are the total normative patterns and have their locus within culture. The total social system and culture are linked together by the legitimation which culture, through its value patterns, gives to the normative order of the total social system.

Values may be regarded as the connector between the social and cultural systems. Although values do not penetrate immediately into the

personality system, they are important in the formation and maintenance of the personality system by way of norms and roles. An individual actor has membership in a number of collectivities in which his behavior is prescribed relative to his status-role. The array of status-roles is termed a status-role bundle. Through collectivity membership, the norms of the collectivities in which membership is held, and the actor's status-role bundle, the actor develops a value orientation. A value orientation provides an actor with standards for the solution of problems and may be seen as independently variable but related to motivational orientations which present a problem analyzing framework for dealing with problems of interest to the actor. More will be said about motivational orientations; what should be made clear is that the social system is revealed to its environment, the cultural system, and personality system, by way of the principle of independent variation rather than in a deterministic fashion (93, p. 14).

A wide variety of subsystems within the total social system are linked to a common pattern of values. Each subsystem elaborates the value pattern in terms of its specific functions in the form of norms and in terms of the specific actors' prescriptions for action in the form of roles. Parsons relates value orientation and role patterns to his pattern variable schema, (93, p. 58) but for the present purpose this portion of Parsons' theory is not of immediate concern. The discussion of value orientations is, however, of considerable importance and will be treated in this chapter as a separate topic. It is at this point sufficient to note that the personality and social systems are both action systems which include motivational and cultural aspects in combination. Having discussed culture

by way of values and value orientation, it is now essential to consider the personality system and motivation.

"Because an actor is genetically human, and because his learning occurs in the context of a particular cultural system, his learned behavior system (which I shall call his personality) shares certain broad features with other personalities - eg. the language he habitually speaks" (94, p. 7). At the same time it is essential to consider that the individual actor is unique as an organism and unique relative to his particular cultural system which is known to him by way of his status-role bundle which structures his value orientation. In these terms a social system's link with the personalities of its members is through the motivation of members' actions within the framework of the normative order, but this link must be seen to consist of a range of expectations which provide the latitude for uniqueness of the individual actor's personality system. "The relation of personality to a uniform role structure is one of interdependence and interpenetration but not one of 'inclusion' where the properties of the personality system are constituted by the roles of which it is allegedly 'made up'" (93, p. 18).

Motivational mechanisms cannot be located either in the personality system or in the cultural system but must be categorized independently of both of these systems. "Motivational dynamics in sociological theory, than, must take the form in the first instance of the formulation mechanisms which 'account for' the functioning of social systems, for the maintenance and breakdown of given structural patterns, for a typical processes of transition from one structural pattern to another" (93, p. 22). Accordingly, motivational dynamics must be understood at the level of

social systems in terms of the functioning of the social system itself. By way of cybernetic relations, the culture is high in information and the biological system is high in energy and these two forces meet and form the motivational mechanisms which are a part of the functioning social system.

To summarize the present "patchwork" presentation of Parsons' conception of man and society, an individual is both biologically unique and similar to other men. When two individual actors interact, they bring their biological energy and the information of their culture together in the creation of a social system. The sociological question concerns the nature and degree of integration in a functioning system and its stability over time which implies a consistent normative orientation. Shared meanings which make up the normative orientations are related to values which are total normative patterns and to the normatively regulated patterns of behavior which are also specified for statuses and are called roles. Individual actors occupy statuses within collectivities, which may also be viewed as actors, and, in this fashion, the total pattern of collectivity statuses for an individual actor will yield the actor's status-role bundle. Role, the action element, relates the individual actor to the social system and through the social system to the cultural system by way of a value orientation which has an impact on the personality system of the actor as a result of the process of socialization. Socialization is a process whereby the norms and motivational patterns of the social system are internalized by the actor but this is done in a selective and unique fashion characteristic of the individual and his developing personality system. All subsystems within the action system are interdependent and interpenetrating but explanation in terms of any one of the

subsystems will not suffice for any other of the subsystems (92, pp. 41-43).

In the foregoing discussion, a society has been referred to as a total social system but little has been said about the difference between a total social system and a partial social system. First, a society is a social system with the highest level of *self-sufficiency relative to* its environment. Second, a society has the highest level of boundary maintenance relative to its environment. Third, because of the above two characteristics, far fewer problems occur in treating societies as wholes than are experienced in considering subsystems within the society as wholes. The three differences between partial social systems and total social systems should be recognized to be differences of degree rather than differences of kind.

With this mention of wholes, a shift to the methodological direction of Parsons' work may begin by pointing out that Parsons' frame of reference is holistic. From what has been said thus far, it should be evident that Parsons' work is trying to overcome the provincial limitations of the several social science disciplines. As is stated in Toward a General Theory Of Action, the theory of action is not a complete general theory. "It is rather a formulation of certain fundamental categories which will have to enter into the formulation of this general theory, which for many years has been developing through the convergence of anthropological studies of culture, the theory of learning, the psychoanalytic theory of personality, economic theory, and the study of modern social structure" (96, pp. 3-4). The holistic orientation included as a basic part of the theory of action has been realized synthetically through a selective compilation of the

results of more limited empirical research. Such a synthetic compliation is possible because of the logical interconnections that prevail within the social and psychological sciences. It should be noted, however, that even the research prompted by Parsons' work among those with whom he has collaborated has been more apt to follow a "variable" approach rather than a holistic approach (96, pp. 481-494).

Parsons' research has been consistent with the holistic frame of reference, such as in his case study of modern medical practices, (93, pp. 428-479) and in his use of historical and descriptive materials in tracing the evolution of societies and in comparing societies (94). Whether Parsons' investigations are case studies or comparisons built on the work of others, the implications in terms of the theory of action seem to be of primary importance. Accordingly, Parsons' purpose is ultimately holistic as is the theory of action itself.

In reacting to Parsons' The Social System, C. Wright Mills suggests that forty per cent of the contents of that work consists of well-known textbook sociology (80, p. 49). The present discussion of Parsons' view of society, man in society, and methodology appropriate to these concerns began with the statement that Parsons is responsible for much of the contents of standard sociological textbooks. To the extent that Parsons is a synthesizer, both of these conditions may be said to have some validity thereby indicating that Parsons' influence and contributions in American sociology are considerable. When looking at the outpouring of quantitative empirical studies, some of which footnote Parsons in their theoretical discussions, one is impressed by the dominance of variables and relative unconcern with holistic implications. The inconsistency between sociological

theory, on the one hand, and much of sociological research, on the other, has been termed "sociology's credibility gap" in the present chapter. "Sociology's credibility gap" is illustrated by sociological theory in the Parsonian tradition and much of the contents of sociological textbooks being representative of the holistic system thinking, while the quantitative empirical activity which dominates sociological investigation is atomistic using the variable rather than the total system as the focus of its concern. Some attempt at consistency, at lessening the credibility gap between sociological theory and research, must be started if sociology is going to make a positive contribution in furthering the understanding of society and its subsystems.

Values and value orientations

Because of the importance of values and value orientations in Parsons' shema, these concepts have been selected for additional consideration. In a manner of speaking, the present treatment of values and value orientations may be viewed as an extended footnote which is essential to the theoretical synthesis to be presented in this chapter. The reason why values and value orientations are essential for this theoretical synthesis is that the former creates a necessary pattern within a cultural configuration and the latter is primarily a device of systemic linkage between the social system and the cultural system. Because the present purpose is to investigate socio-cultural integration (disintegration) and socio-cultural change (maintenance), an understanding of the linkage between society and culture must be approached by way of values and value orientations.

Although there is a lack of consensus as to the meaning of the concept "value" in social science and within single social science disciplines, Clyde Kluckhohn contends that "value" and value theory provide a common point for convergence within the social sciences (57, p. 389). As the term is defined by C. Kluckhohn, value suggests a code or standard that persists through time and has the result of forming an action commitment. In this way, value may be seen as a logical construct which has its locus in culture. The actor becomes involved in an action commitment by way of a value orientation which the actor holds and which yields somewhat of a private organized conception of a cultural value pattern. It is through value orientations that diversity can be possible in considering the connection between the social situation and a cultural value pattern. It is through value orientations that diversity can be possible in considering the connection between the social situation and a cultural value pattern. By way of its distinctive value orientation, either a collectivity or an individual creates a notion of what is desirable and undesirable in relation to the environment and human relations (57, pp. 395-411).

Parsons and Shils put their notion of value and value orientation quite clearly, "Thus culture includes a set of <u>standards</u>. An individual's value orientation is his commitment to these standards" (96, p. 60). As stated earlier, role is the central concept of Parsons' conception of the social system. "The individual actor as a concrete system of action is not usually the most important unit in a social system. For most purposes the <u>conceptual unit of the social system is the role</u>" (96, p. 190). Consistent with the importance of the role, roles are seen to structure

orientational differentiation relative to the same values whose pattern remains highly stable over time. Roles, as they are rank-ordered in a status role bundle, order the actor's value orientations. In this way, value orientation, "...refers to those aspects of the actor's orientation which commit him to the observance of certain norms, standards, criteria of selection whenever he is in a contingent situation which allows (and requires) him to make choices" (96, p. 59). The ordering and commitment to values through value orientation by an individual actor exists in the actor as a part of his need-disposition.

An individual actor's need-disposition system has two primary aspects termed the "gratificational aspect" and the "orientational aspect." The gratificational aspect is "cathetic", involves the actor's wants, and the orientational aspect is "cognitive", involves the appearance of objects to the actor. Both of these aspects are organized in the "evaluative" mode which is concerned with the actor's plans (93, p. 7). These same three modes hold for the motivational orientation as well which structures and actor's orientation to a situation in terms of his need-disposition. With slight modification, these modes are repeated in a parallel fashion with value orientations. The appreciative mode parallels the cathectic mode and refers to standards as altered by the appropriateness of cathexis. The cognitive mode remains the same in both instances and the moral mode parallels the evaluative mode in guiding the choices that will have ramifications for personality integration and integration of the actor into the social system (96, pp. 59-60).

Florence Kluckhohn conceptualizes value orientations in a similar fashion to that of Parsons and Shils such that value orientations are

considered in terms of three distinctive modes. "Value orientations are complex but definitely patterned (rank-ordered) principals resulting from the transactional interplay of three analytically distinguishable elements of the evaluative process - the cognitive, the affective, and the directional elements - which give order and direction to the ever flowing stream of human acts and thoughts as these relate to solution of 'common human' problems" (59, p. 4). In this sense, value orientations are pattern variations of cultural standards which are themselves stable in content and arrangement over time. Of the three modes or distinguishable elements of value orientation, the directive mode is of primary importance. The term "directive" is used rather than either the terms "selective" or "choice" or Parsons' term "moral" in order to avoid the unfortunate implications of these terms, but the primary advantage of "directive" is that it places emphasis on process (59, p. 8). However, the meaning given "directive" as a designation for a value orientation mode is still much like that given to "moral" in that it implies the process of directing an actor's choice with implications for personality and social system integration.

Culture change necessitates value change; social change includes changes in value orientations. Value orientations have implications for both personality and social system integration. Therefore, in carrying out a study concerned with socio-cultural integration (disintegration) and change (maintenance) it is essential to give some attention to values and value orientations. In the study of value orientations, attention to verbalization is necessary because symbol-meaning patterns are being considered. "There is, first of all, the establishment of regularities in 'should' or 'ought' statements by the usual procedures of sampling, formal

and informal interviews, recordings of normal conversations, analysis of the oral and written lore of the group" (57, p. 406). Such regularized verbalizations indicate group and societal norms which are related to value orientations which are in turn reordered patterns of cultural standards, values. Regularizations in social structure and process are also related to values and value orientations but because of the possible discrepancy between social reality and standards, verbalizations provide a far more expedient means of ascertaining values and value orientations than of grasping the regularities of social structure.

Thus far in the present chapter, the point has been made that there is an inconsistency between sociological theory and sociological methodology. In giving this discrepancy between sociological theory and sociological methodology a short hand designation, this writer has used the phrase, "sociology's credibility gap." Concerning values and value orientations, however, there does not appear to be much support for "sociology's credibility gap." Methodologically, sociology is highly involved with questioning and other forms of verbalization, much of which lends itself to ready quantification. The so-called "attitude survey" is an important tool in the study of values and value orientations and, therefore, value theory is served well by the dominant methodological practices in sociology today.

Can the study of values and value orientations meaningfully stand alone? It would be supposed that just as the study of socio-cultural integration and change are, in part, dependent on values and value orientations, the reverse state of dependency prevails as well. To appreciate fully the place of standards and perceptions of standards one must also have some appreciation of social structure and actual social behavior.

Data on social structure and actual social behavior are obtained most effectively by observation because these are, for the most part, non-symbolic in nature. It must be concluded, therefore, that the study of objective social system properties, social structure, and actual social behavior data gathered largely through observation, and the study of objective social system properties, value orientations, and norms approached largely through verbalizations, are supplementary and essential to the study of the total social system. Accordingly, "sociology's credibility gap" has reference largely with regard to the objective properties of the social system where theoretical interest and activity is considerable but methodological interest and activity appears to be slight.

Theoretical synthesis

The statement has been made by Alex Inkeles that "Each sociologist carries in his head one or more 'models' of society and man which greatly influence what he looks for, what he sees, and what he does with his observations by way of fitting them, along with other facts, into a larger scheme of explanation" (52, p. 28). It is the present writer's agreement with Inkles on this point that has prompted the present theoretical synthesis. Without a clear statement of this writer's "model of society and man", much of Part Two of the present work would be neither clearly nor completely understood. The theoretical synthesis stands, therefore, as a roadmap which has given direction to the present community study.

Many aspects of the selected theories presented above concerning society, man, and methods are instrumental in the development of the

present writer's theoretical perspective. The theoretical synthesis is heavily indebted to Durkheim's "sociologism", to Simmel's "formalism", to Radcliffe-Brown's "social system" thinking, and to Parsons' elaboration of the system of action as the environment of the social system. It is the intent of the theoretical synthesis to sketch out the present writer's theoretical perspective relative to society, man, and methodology rather than trying to maintain a position consistent with each of the theoretical contributions that are incorporated into the synthesis. Nevertheless, because the theoretical synthesis is limited by reasons of space and purpose, many of the statements made below are elaborated in the theoretical overview contained in the first part of the present chapter. The present discussion is, therefore, seen as resting on the foundations of the theoretical statements surveyed previously.

Society is not a conceptual fiction but is rather a reality brought about by the reciprocal activity of parts. In this assertion it is evident that the thinking of both Durkheim and Simmel are influential; however, Simmel's moderation on the question of viewing society as an autonomous entity has the effect of softening Durkheim's persistence on this point. Society is not a conceptual fiction because the network of social relations between actors, both individual and collective, is real. The network of social relations between actors is real in the way that both Durkheim and Simmel made clear in their respective discussions of "social facts" and "forms." Both of these discussions emphasize the channeling of life processes of actors and the resulting constraint over the actors.

It is, for the present purpose, advisable to conceptualize the social system rather than maintaining the discussion at the level of society.

"Society" and "social system" are not synonymous in that the latter may be used to refer to the former but the reverse reference is not acceptable according to Radcliffe-Brown and Parsons. The reality of society commented on above applies to social systems as well as to societies. In a manner of speaking, less complex social systems may be viewed as imperfect miniatures of the larger and more complex social system called society. The isomorphic relationship between society, called the total social system by Parsons, and smaller social systems is not such that the particulars of relationship are repeated, but rather that there is a general commonality of form between them. Specific differences between the total social system and the smaller social systems are differences of degree, as Parsons points out, such that society has the highest level of self-sufficiency and boundary maintenance relative to its environment. Another difference between society as a social system and other social systems is that, as Radcliffe-Brown makes clear, society is a territorial unit, whereas not all other social systems have this property.

The social system that is of concern in the present study is the "community." As a social system, community is similar to society because it is both a social and a territorial unit and because it possesses self-sufficiency and boundary maintenance relative to its environment that is second only to that of the total social system. A community social system is comprised of patterns of interconnected social relations that are structured to guide actions of system actors. The patterns of social relations considered in their totality is called the social structure. Through social behavior and the product-prerequisites of social behavior, which are the institutionalized and associative patterns, the social

structure is seen to manifest itself. The social structure is, in turn, bound up with social usages, both actual and normative, which tie the social structure to culture by way of values and value orientations.

Because the study of social usages entails consideration of attitudes, beliefs, and sentiments, as well as value orientations, norms, and values, the cognitive bias looms as a trap with considerable attraction to some would-be students of social systems. Sociology is neither the study of individual actors nor the study of composites of individual actors. Instead, sociology is the study of actors arranged in order and it is the arrangement and order that is of primary relevance to sociology. That is to say that the whole of the social system is the concern of the sociologist, not the part or aggregate attitude of an artificial social composite. In studying the whole of the social system, the sociologist must use description with questioning so as to capture both the subjective and objective properties of the social system.

Although it is questionable whether a social system and its environment can be exhaustively studied in their total complexity, the attempt at such a study is profitable in that it promotes the understanding necessary for the holistic perspective. Parsons' elaboration of the action system stands as a holistic statement in theoretical terms where the physical environment, spatial and temporal location, biological system, psychological system, and cultural system are viewed as the environment of the social system. However, these subsystems of the action system and the relational attributes are not causally adequate relative to the social system. Explanation concerning the social system must be found in terms of the social system, but furthermore it should be clear that an

understanding of the social system must take into account the other systems and relational attributes so that the social system may be seen in its proper context.

In studying the community as a social system it is necessary to account for the physical environment, spatial and temporal locations, biological systems, psychological systems, and cultural system. None of the systems or relational attributes will explain the community social system but, on the other hand, each has a bearing on the social system such that they establish certain preconditions out of which the social system is formed. The physical environment, for example, does not determine the social system, but where soil is not suited for productive agriculture, where there is a short growing season and a large amount of snowfall and cold weather, one would not expect to find the same sort of social system prevailing as one would find functionally suited to an area of great agricultural productivity. Other examples could be given to demonstrate the same point which is, simply put, that the physical environment sets conditions in which the social system arises. The same relationship holds for spatial and temporal locations. Where is the community in question located in relation to large population centers? What is the internal arrangement of the community? What are the daily and seasonal cycles of the community? These questions must be considered for they are conditions of the social system and although they do not determine the social system they must be taken into account.

What of the biological and cultural systems in considering the environment of the social system? The social system is made up of social relations of individual actors belonging to the species homo sapiens. Man

has certain biological capacities and limitations that do not suggest specifically how he will act but do give a fair idea of what he is capable of without the aid of technology. When man's biological capacities are combined with his cultural capacities, technological products being one of these, man is able to accomplish actions that are impossible with only his natural biological endowments. The fact is that it is man's biological composition that gives him the unique capacity for culture making it possible to say that man's biological capabilities make the cultural system possible. Caution must be exercised, however, for although the systems are interpenetrating, culture can be neither explained in biological terms nor is it adequate to explain man's biological system in terms of culture alone. Both systems are altered by the other, but both systems maintain their explanatory independence.

The same sort of mutual dependency obtains with regard to the cultural system and the biological system, as well as the psychological system, in their relations to the social system. Man's psychological system has a set of biological preconditions and a set of cultural preconditions but even if these alone could be met they are not sufficient without the social system. The social system, in turn, is dependent upon the psychological systems, biological systems, and cultural systems for its existence but this is not to say that the social system can be explained in terms of the other systems any more than it could be said that the reverse of this relationship holds true. All of Part Two of the present work proceeds as an elaboration of this holistic perspective but a brief hypothetical example might serve to illustrate the point for the present.

Community A has a young college educated population and Community B

has an older to retired working class population. Both of these communities are populated with homo sapiens, but there are biological differences in the population relative to age and other factors not elaborated here. Both of these communities, it will be assumed, are within the United States and are therefore oriented to "American culture" but their orientations are different relative to their vantage points as structured by the social systems. Both of these communities contain actors of varying aptitude but these aptitudes have been molded by different life experiences and in turn these aptitudes alter the conditions of both the social and cultural systems. Individuals relate to individuals as personalities but these personalities are channeled by status-roles which are defined in terms of institutional and associative patterns and these patterns vary by community in such a way that Community A and Community B offer different possibilities of life experiences for their populations. All of the subsystems within the action system mold and are in turn molded by the other subsystems in a manner that is peculiar to the community in question. Community social structure cannot be explained by the biological, psychological, or cultural systems but, nevertheless, it is interdependent with these systems and this interdependence must be taken into account in order to appreciate the social system or any other single system.

How is the holistic perspective to be methodologically implemented? The physical environment can be approached by way of the findings of physical geography; human ecology has contributed to approaches of ascertaining spatial location, and temporal location has been examined by social and psychological scientists and philosophers from their various points of view. Biologists and physical anthropologists have studied man biologically

but, in many cases, only general concerns with the biological systems are possible because of the lack of detailed information about the population of the community in question. Psychologists and social psychologists could contribute to the understanding of social system environments through their methods of measurement, but life histories and depth interviews may be considered sufficient to appreciate the psychological system as a part of the social system environment. The cultural system may be studied both by an ongoing observation-question approach and by investigating both the material and non-material cultural products. Observation-questioning also serves in the study of the social system but if observation-questioning is to be successful it must be coupled with an appreciation of the past and present such as may be obtained through secondary data analysis. Clearly, a study of a community social system approached holistically is not accomplished in a few weeks but instead demands an emersion of the investigator in his data for three months to a year and even longer. The particular techniques employed in the present investigation will be the topic of Chapter Four. In the balance of the present chapter, the key concepts of the present study, integration, change, and social power, will be dealt with and then the questions that served to guide the present study will be presented.

Explication of the central concepts

Three concepts are of central importance in the present research. All three of the concepts - integration, change, and social power, are high level concepts of the sort that are frequently treated in a general,

ill-defined manner. It is the present purpose to explicate the three concepts so as to make them operational for the present research. Because all three concepts are high level, there is some difficulty in making them operational but this difficulty is mitigated to some extent in that operationalizing for a case study is not as limiting as operationalizing for a logico-empirical study where hypotheses are tested and measurement is the objective.

Integration The preceding discussion has dealt with the importance of networks of social relations and has made other references to the fitting together of the parts of a social system. In fact, the concept "social system" is, as has been pointed out, only meaningful in terms of social relationship patterns. Accordingly, integration has been the implicit topic of the preceding pages.

"We call a set of objects integrated if they are related to each other in such a way that they form an integral entity, that is if they are united to form a whole" (46, p. 51). Integration can be brought about under three general conditions: 1) where the objects are tied together because of an identical attribute which all of the objects have in common, 2) where there exists a logical relationship that links the objects together, and 3) where the objects have a functional interdependence such that each part is tied to the others in a mutually interdependent manner. Of the three general conditions of integration, type three is of the greatest importance and interest in the social sciences (46, p. 52).

The consideration of the characteristics of a social system is quite clearly a consideration of interdependence and therefore social system theory treats integration implicitly as a postulate. It is quite true

that integration must be assumed in dealing with social systems as conceptualized above, but it appears to be far more useful to employ integration as a variable rather than as a given. The assumption regarding social systems is to view the relationship between the parts of the system as an existing state of affairs. Such an assumption is both artificial and clearly contrary to fact (82, p. 814). A far more meaningful conceptualization of "social system" is to view integration as the structured state that may be found at one end of a continuum that ranges to disintegration on the other end. Such a social system viewpoint is consistent with Simmel's point that, "Society is not a single, fixed concept, there can be more of it or less of it" (114, p. 30). In the same sense, there can be different gradations of social system depending on the extent of integration which may be determined by the extent to which networks of reciprocal relations are present.

In his discussion of modes of integration based on interdependence of parts, Holzner asserts that the least complex mode is operative interdependence such as occurs both symbiotically and intentionally in the acts of day-to-day living. Another mode is largely involved with the different relationships between subsystems based primarily on power. It is this mode of integration that is of greatest concern in the present research. A third mode of integration is value integration as it relates to attitude and value orientation agreement (46, p. 60). Although the second mode, power integration, is of greatest concern, it should be made clear that the three modes are interdependent such that power integration affects and is in turn affected by the operative integration and value integration.

Power integration is based on interest constellations and by way of

opposing interest constellations may structure conflict. Conflict may either have the effect of polarizing a community in terms of operative integration and value integration or operative and value integration may have the effect of reducing the conflict between opposing interest constellations. Another possibility is that a single interest constellation may dominate a community thereby enforcing a specific pattern of operative integration and value integration. In such cases, the most integrated social system is not always the most viable.

The purpose of the present research is to examine power integration, the interconnections between the interest constellation subsystems within a community social system, so as to determine their form and function with regard to operative and value integration as well as to examine the impact of integration on community change. More will be said about social power and socio-cultural change shortly; what should be clear from the present discussion is that the high level concept "integration" is, for the present purpose, subdivided into three modes - operative integration, power integration, and value integration - all of which are of concern to the present research, but one, power integration, is of primary concern.

To summarize, integration is the term used to refer to the extent and kind of fitting together of parts. The greater the degree of integration in all three modes, the greater the degree of "social systemness" possessed by that system because a social system is defined by the extent of integration of its parts. Because this relationship is tautological, it is easier to speak of the degree of social system integration that results from the interaction between the three modes. The present purpose is to concentrate on power integration in its reciprocal relations with

operative and value integration and to relate total community integration to socio-cultural change via social power.

Change Talcott Parsons contends that, "...a general theory of the processes of change of social systems is not possible in the present state of knowledge" (93, p. 486). Nevertheless, Parsons acknowledges that it is possible to make some relevant statements about social change. Because the greatest part of Parsons' theorizing is built about the processes of maintenance of social equilibrium, change is less than the dominate theme of Parsons' work. In discussing the maintenance of equilibrium as well as in his brief treatment of social change, Parsons does contribute to the understanding of social change, however. Socialization and social control are fundamental processes both in the maintenance of equilibrium and in the opposite of that condition, which is social change. It would be reasonable to consider these processes as central to an understanding of maintenance and change of social patterns.

In his consideration of social change, Wilbert Moore selects "uncertainties in socialization" and "role ranges and deviations" as two principle systemic flexibilities of importance in social change (82, p. 813). "Role deviations" suggest the process of social control which is of concern to Parsons and also ties in with the question of uncertainties of socialization. In this manner, a relevant conception of social change may follow the lead of the theory of social systems with its emphasis on the maintenance of equilibrium such that change may be seen as a departure from equilibrium maintenance. To the extent that socialization, social control, and role are key concepts in both the understanding of social system maintenance and change, the development of a social

systems theory devoted to change is provided with a common base with existing social systems theory.

Although socialization, social control, and role are key concepts in understanding social change, they are not in any way exhaustive because innovation may occur at numerous points throughout the social system (82, p. 817). Vested interest usually stands for maintenance of the status quo while some institutionalized patterns are geared to change. Social change is also fostered by demographic factors, economic considerations, technological alterations, material conditions, and ideas to state only the most obvious factors. Parsons makes a statement in his discussion of change contained in his work, The Social System, that is subscribed to by the present writer. "The central methodological principle of our theory is that of the interdependence of a plurality of variables" (93, p. 493). The same point is made throughout the foregoing pages and it appears, again, to have application to social change.

In the discussion of integration above, it was stated that integration, the interdependent fitting together of parts to constitute a whole, could be seen on a continuum that ranged to the point of disintegration or decomposition of the whole. Integration was, furthermore, equated with the concept "social system" at one point of its meaning. Building on this formulation it is possible to see change and maintenance as an added dimension of the integration continuum as illustrated in Figure 6.

Maintenance of equilibrium refers to the stable social patterns and social change refers to departures from those patterns either in the direction of greater integration or greater disintegration. The greater the integration, the less likelihood of change unless the integration is

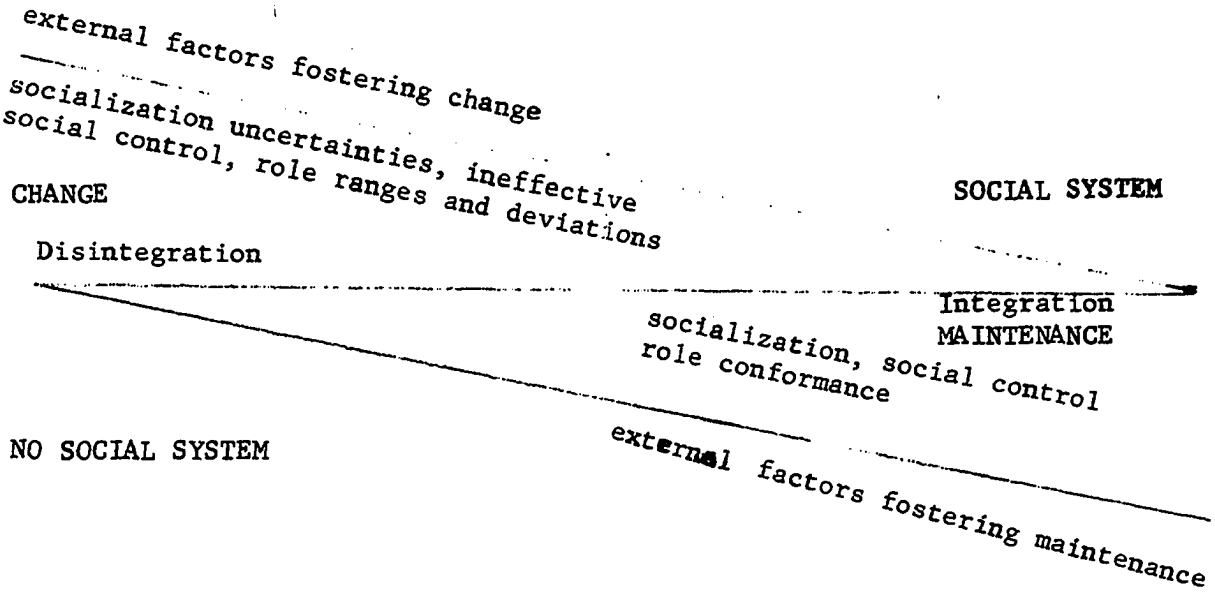


Figure 6. The inverse relationship of change and maintenance relative to integration

based on the premise of change. In the condition of disintegration, there are no patterns left to depart from and so change becomes meaningless at that point, but just short of the point of disintegration change may be seen as pervasive in that there are few strong maintenance forces to counteract change. Maintenance forces become more pronounced with greater integration and accordingly, change meets greater resistance in most highly integrated social systems.

Although it is helpful in establishing a relationship between integration and change-maintenance, Figure 6 gives little insight into the form, sequence, or direction of change. To an extent, the limitation of this general treatment of change is similar to that stated by Parsons and referred to earlier in this discussion. A general theory of change does not seem possible at the present state of knowledge.

The purpose here is not to work toward a general theory of change,

it is to operationalize the concept "change" for the present case study. In order to accomplish this operationalizing purpose, the three concepts having the greatest effect on social system flexibilities are used to create three salient change categories that parallel the three modes of integration. In arranging the three high social system flexibility concepts with the three modes of integration, three new change categories are created:

System Flexibility Concepts	Integration Mode	Change Categories
Role	operative integration	operative change
Social Control	power integration	power change
Socialization	value integration	value change

Operative change refers to departure from both patterns of social relationships and the roles structured in terms of these relationships. Power change refers to departures from relationships between subsystems bound together by social power ties. Value change refers to departures from attitudes and value orientations. As in the case of the modes of integration, all three change categories are mutually interdependent but unlike the treatment of the integration modes, power change is not singled out and given a special status as is the case with power integration. To put it another way, although the present study is not a variable study in the restricted sense that may be applied to the phrase, the distinctions that apply to variables in logico-empirical studies may be made here so as to define the problem more clearly. Power integration is used in a manner similar to an independent variable, operative and value integration are similar to intervening variables at one point and to dependent variables

at another point, and operative change, power change, and value change are similar to dependent variables. Because social power is the key concept in this research problem, more operational-methodological attention needs to be given to this concept.

Social power The concept "social power" has been dealt with at length elsewhere by the present writer (62). In part, the research of concern here is an outgrowth of the previous work, where social power is considered largely in conceptual and theoretical terms. Throughout this writer's earlier treatment of social power, considerable attention is given to "reciprocal dependency" as the primary defining characteristic of the concept social power. The nature of reciprocal dependency is briefly stated in the working definition of social power which appears in Chapter One of the earlier work. As this definition will serve as a working definition in the present research as well, it is presented below:

> Social power is a reciprocal acknowledgement, first by a subordinate, whether person, group, community, or society, that the pursuit and exercise of its means-ends is more greatly controlled by a superordinate than by itself, because of a dependency generated by a preceding act or course of action by the superordinate that effectively limited or was made to appear to limit the means-ends action courses of the subordinate. (62, pp. 14-15).

The working definition is general in scope such that it applies at several levels of social reality. Although the present research is specifically concerned with community, the level of social reality that is of greatest concern relative to social power is the "group." Power integration, the approximate independent variable in the present case study refers to the different relationships between subsystems that are

based primarily on social power, and power change refers to departures from relationships between subsystems tied together by social power. Subsystems within the community, or groups, to use the term employed above in the definition of social power, are the superordinate and subordinate units of interest in the present research. What is the nature of the relationship between Subsystem A, the Garden Club, and Subsystem B, the Homemakers Club? If the two subsystems are tied together by means of social power, what form does that reciprocal dependency take and how are actions of the subsystems involved altered by the reciprocal dependency state? These are questions at the level of social reality that are of immediate concern to the present research.

The following points serve to recapitulate the main analytical and descriptive aspects contained in the first chapter of the earlier work to the extent that they have relevance to the present research. Each of these points is critically assumed in the treatment of subsystems and their social power relationships within the community.

1. Social power is a relational phenomenon, i.e., it involves two or more social entities, subsystems, in a dependency state.
2. Social power, when considered from the several sides of the relation, is distinct in empirical and normative cause; however, the common element which holds the power relationship together is dependency.
3. Social power, is an asymmetric relation, i.e., it consists of a series of discrete uni-directional actions making up a social relation, but each set of actions is separated

from the other by time and scope.

4. Social power refers to both a potential and an actualized state of social conditions, i.e., the potential may be considered as static, the actualized as dynamic.
5. Social power, when institutionalized, is called authority and refers to the rights of office, scope of power, relative to a particular task granted to an office holder (62, pp. 26-27).

Chapter Three of the earlier work surveys social power in terms of three schools of sociological theory (conflict theory, social behaviorism, and sociological functionalism) by the several levels of social reality. Each school of sociological theory and each level of social reality is summarized in a social power matrix which, among other items, includes cause, form, change, and use of social power. A summary of the social power characteristics of the community level of social reality for each school of sociological theory by these four items is presented on the following page.

As indicated in the summary of community power by three schools of sociological theory, there are both points of agreement and of disagreement between the schools relative to the cause, form, change, and use of community power. Mastery of nature and social control appear as the agreed upon causes of social power in community but in the present discussion these causes may be seen to be related to the task of system maintenance and integration. With regard to the form of community power, there is some disagreement such that the action group and institution predominate

Schools of Sociological Theory	CAUSE	FORM	CHANGE	USE
Social Conflict (62, p. 118b)	Mastery of Nature	Action Group Institution	Internal or External Conflict	Preserve Integrity of Community
Social Behaviorism (62, p. 129b)	Mastery over Nature, Social Control, Growth of Social Relations	Integrated Power Structures Arranged by Proximity of Interest	Altered Interest	Perpetuation of Social Organization
Sociological Functionalism (62, p. 138a)	Social Control	Discontinuous Chain of Decision Making	Condition Adjustment	Controlled Power Integrates Society

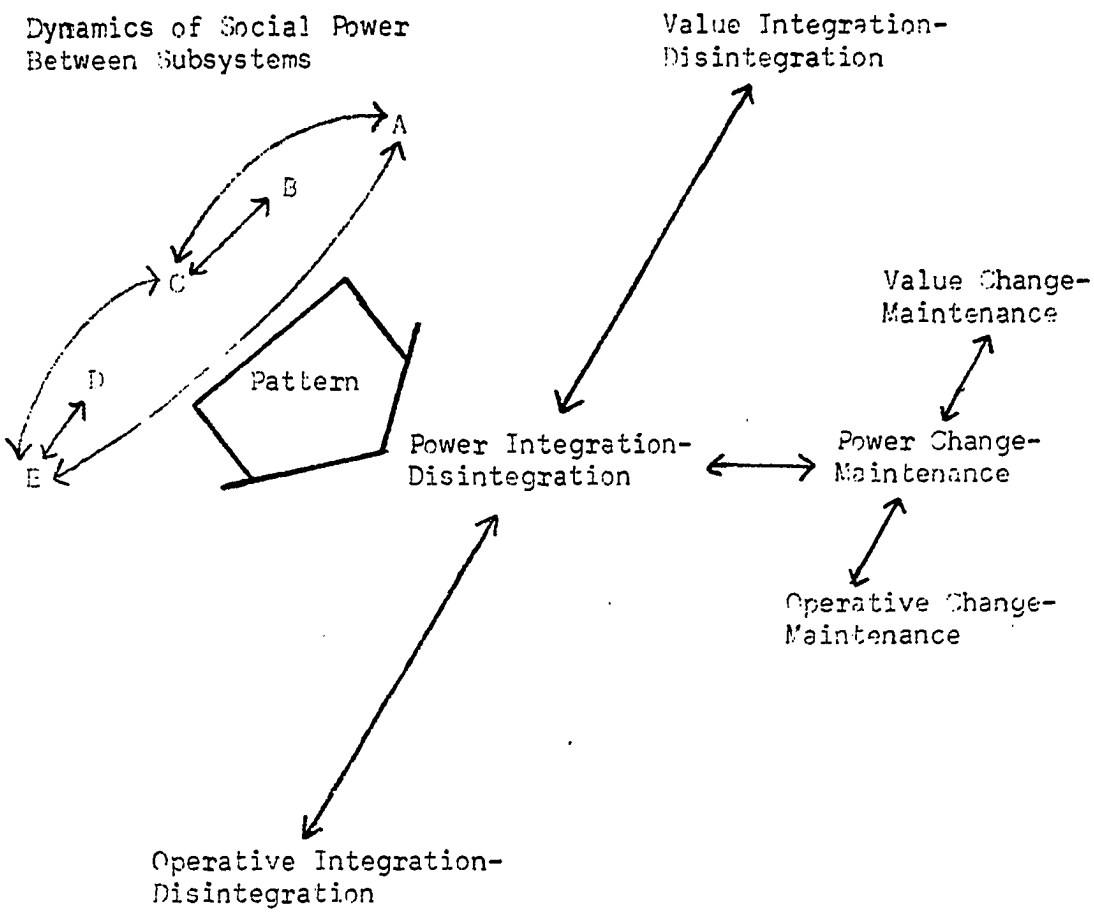
for the social conflict school, integrated power structures bound together by shared interests represent the form of community power according to social behaviorism, and discontinuous chains of decision making characterize the community power form as seen by sociological functionalism. Again, as with the cause of social power, integration is the main theme in the discussion of form by all three schools of sociological theory but the degree and kind of integration is quite variable. The social conflict school stresses the action group thereby leaving integration implicit in a condition of countervailing powers. Social behaviorism stresses integration that is enforced by shared interests thereby moving toward the value integration mode. Sociological functionalism promotes operative integration relative to social power by emphasizing the importance of decision making but pointing out that decision making is arranged in a discontinuous chain.

Each of these three schools places its emphasis on integration in considering form of social power in such a way that it structures the interpretation of change. The social conflict school stresses action groups in tension which may lead to conflict, both internal and external, and conflict is the single most important instrument of change. Where social power is viewed as integrated and arranged by proximity of interests, as is the perspective of social behaviorism, alterations in interest is singled out as the primary instrument of change. Decision making arranged in discontinuous or partially integrated chains describes the form of social power accepted by sociological functionalism and change is then brought about by condition adjustment. Power change characterizes the position of the social conflict school, value change reflects the view of social behaviorism, and operative change relates to the condition adjustment emphasis of sociological functionalism.

As is true with the cause of social power as shown in the abbreviated matrix summarized above, the use of social power is directed largely to the end of integration. Once again, however, the degree and kind of integration characterized by the groups in tension model of the social conflict school represents a pattern of integration that would be interpreted by social behaviorism as a state of near disintegration. Similarly, sociological functionalism treats community power by way of a model of discontinuous decision making with the view that controlled power serves an integration function but the notion of controlled power and discontinuities in decision making chains suggests less integration than is conceptualized by social behaviorism, or, at least it suggests integration of a different type.

The position taken in the present operationalization of social power relative to socio-cultural integration and change is pluralistic. That is to say that social power displays itself according to all of the models suggested by the three schools of sociological theory with the result that several modes of integration and several modes of change are to be considered and empirical examples of these documented. The purpose of the present research is to document an empirical example of community power relative to integration and change with the recognition that the several models suggested by the three schools of sociological theory may be found in combination and further that the interrelationships between social power, integration, and change must be approached by way of the total community. As stated earlier, the specific problem of the present study is to examine the process of social power within the vacation community of Lake N with reference to the mutual interdependencies between the dynamics of social power and the total socio-cultural integration-disintegration process and to the mutual interdependencies between the dynamics of social power and the total socio-cultural change-maintenance process. Figure 5 illustrates the specific research problem relative to the total community. Figure 7 presented on the following page elaborates the social power, integration, change relationship in operational terms as discussed above.

How common is the case study approach in the study of community power? The answer to this question as well as one of the more complete bibliographies on community power studies may be found in the work of John Walton (125, pp. 684-689) (126, pp. 430-438). According to Walton's classification, the case study approach in the investigation of community power is more commonly used in political science and related disciplines than it



Note: The dynamics of social power between subsystems is the main focus of concern but it must be approached in terms of the whole community in vivo. A pattern of power integration-disintegration is created out of the dynamics of social power which in turn affects and is affected by the other modes of integration-disintegration and change-maintenance in an interdependent fashion.

Figure 7. Social power, integration, and change as operationalized for the case study

is in sociology, although some sociologists do employ this approach. The case study approach in the investigation of community power is not associated with any type of power structure in that the pyramidal, factional, coalitional, and amorphous power structure types have been determined by this approach. On the other hand, the reputational method of studying community power, most commonly used by sociologists, seems to be associated with the monolithic type of power structure (125, pp. 686-687). The conclusion that Walton draws is that the understanding of community power will be enhanced by methodological pluralism and comparative studies relating the findings of particular community power studies. The present writer concurs with Walton's conclusions and cites these conclusions as further documentation for the recommendations offered in the present and previous chapters.

Research questions

It was previously stated that a case study, with its non-quantitative empirical format, does not test hypotheses but instead proceeds by describing the characteristics of the topic of concern. Nevertheless, a case study must have objectives or the resulting description would be without purpose. Working from the holistic framework, an investigator is intent in studying the total community thereby increasing the possible danger of creating a description without direction. Research questions are helpful in case studies because they provide needed direction for the investigation. Although they are to be answered in the description, research questions should not be confused with hypotheses such as one would

find in a logico-empirical study. Instead, research questions provide the direction for the case study and help the case study to be consistent with the theoretical and methodological perspective accepted in the initial problem formulation. The research questions that have guided the present study are presented below.

Geography

1. What effect does Lake N's proximity to Duluth-Superior have on the life style of the community?
2. To what extent is Lake N's growth potential restricted by the community not being on a state highway?
3. How important is the lake in keeping Lake N a viable community?
4. Historically, why was Lake N located in its present location?
5. What is the most important asset of Lake N's location?
6. What are the characteristics of the Lake N climate?
7. How does Lake N's climate differ from the climate in the surrounding area?
8. What are the reactions of the local residents and the summer residents to the extremes in seasons?
9. Do local residents frequently leave Lake N during the winter months because of the extreme cold and snow?
10. What kind of soil is most common in the area and in Lake N?
11. What is the general topography of the area and of Lake N?
12. Are there any important mineral deposits in the Lake N area?
13. To what extent is swampland considered as a liability by the local residents of Lake N?
14. To what extent are state forests considered to be a local burden by Lake N residents?
15. How important is the pulping industry to the local economy of Lake N?

Demography

1. What is the population size of Lake N during the summer season?

2. What is the population size of Lake N during the winter season?

3. What is the age and socio-economic composition of the Lake N population during the two seasons, winter and summer?

4. What are the fertility and mortality rates for Lake N?

5. What are the patterns of migration within Lake N?

6. What are the immigration and emigration patterns for Lake N?

History and culture change

1. Are local traditions viewed with pride or disdain in Lake N?

2. What attempts are being made to preserve objects and document a record of Lake N's past?

3. How do local residents view innovations brought into Lake N by summer residents?

4. What are the patterns of acculturation in Lake N for both the local and summer residents?

5. To what extent are the general socio-cultural trends of the area instrumental in bringing about changes in Lake N?

Language

1. Are there any speech patterns that are distinctive to Lake N?

2. Are there any words or phrases that are given special meaning by the local residents of Lake N?

3. What impressions do Lake N local residents have of people with considerable skill in expressing themselves verbally?

4. How common is it to find a language other than English spoken regularly in the homes of Lake N?

Communication and records

1. What are the most effective means of disseminating news and information in Lake N?

2. Where are news items about Lake N published and how complete is the coverage?

3. How widespread is telephone use in Lake N and how satisfied are Lake N residents with their telephone service?

4. What effect does radio and television have on the world view and internal visiting patterns of Lake N?

5. What are the main record keeping subsystems within Lake N and how accessible are these records to the public?

Hunting, fishing, and agriculture

1. How common are berry picking and other gathering activities among the local and summer residents of Lake N?

2. How active are local residents of Lake N in hunting and trapping activities?

3. What are the common summer and winter fishing patterns of the Lake N residents?

4. To what extent are hunting and fishing activities used in Lake N to determine local prestige?

5. Which domesticated animals are commonly kept by the local residents of Lake N and what attitudes do these residents hold about domesticated animals?

6. How common are part time and full time agricultural activities in Lake N?

Food and eating patterns

1. What is a typical diet in Lake N?

2. Where do Lake N residents buy their food?

3. How many restaurants and coffee shops are available to Lake N residents and how are these affected by seasonal changes?

4. What is the place of the local taverns in the everyday life of Lake N?

5. How does food preparation contribute to the prestige of Lake N women?

Clothing and adornment

1. What is the everyday garb of Lake N local residents?

2. What special clothing patterns are evident in Lake N?

3. Where do Lake N residents go for cleaning services?

4. To what extent has the Lake N laundromat altered washday and visiting patterns in Lake N?

5. Where do Lake N residents buy their clothing?

Structures and settlement patterns

1. What is the general architectural style of Lake N?

2. How common is central heating in Lake N?

3. What variety of outbuildings are evident in Lake N?

4. What public and recreational structures are to be found in Lake N?

5. What business and industrial structures are to be found in Lake N?

6. What religious and educational structures are to be found in Lake N?

7. What is the general settlement pattern of Lake N?

8. What is the street arrangement and traffic pattern in Lake N?

9. What park and public areas are available in Lake N?

Property and property care

1. What priorities are given to material goods by local residents in Lake N?

2. To what extent does the individual property owner in Lake N view the state and county governments as monopolizers of land?

3. How frequently does real property change hands in Lake N and how are such transactions accomplished?

4. How prevalent is rental property in Lake N during the summer season and during the winter season?

5. What patterns of borrowing and lending are found in Lake N?

6. Do most Lake N homeowners have the tools and talent necessary to keep their homes in repair or do they hire others to make needed repairs?

Exchange and labor

1. What general community gift giving patterns are found in Lake N?

2. What obligations are recognized as binding on all Lake N residents with regard to buying, selling, and repairing?

3. What are the attitudes of local residents of Lake N about work and leisure and how do these attitudes correspond to behavior?

4. What are the Lake N definitions of division of labor by age and sex?

5. How is the local labor supply affected by the seasonality of activities in Lake N and area?

6. What is considered an acceptable income in Lake N?

Travel and transportation

1. To what extent is a travel vacation an accepted pattern in the lives of local Lake N residents?

2. What are the general travel patterns of Lake N residents for the purpose of obtaining employment, goods, and services?

3. What means of transportation are available for Lake N health and accident emergencies?

4. How do the local road conditions in Lake N contribute to travel patterns?

5. How does the lake facilitate transportation in Lake N?

6. How has the increasing acceptance of the snowmobile altered winter transportation and recreation in Lake N?

Living standards and recreation

1. What is the general standard of living and deviation from this standard in Lake N?

2. What are the daily, weekly, and seasonal routines of Lake N?

3. What leisure time activities are prevalent in Lake N by season, age, and resident types?

4. How do athletics and other sports activities fit into the life pattern of Lake N?

5. What special holiday celebrations are promoted in Lake N and what subsystems promote them?

6. What variety of activities center around music and dancing and what part of the residents of Lake N favor each activity?

Social stratification and interpersonal relations

1. What are the recognized age divisions that serve to stratify interaction in Lake N?

2. To what extent is interaction channeled by sex divisions and how does this vary by age in Lake N?

3. How many ethnic groups are present in Lake N and how are they ranked according to the local system of stratification?

4. What social class distinctions are made in Lake N and how are these behaviorally distinguished?

5. What patterns of interpersonal and intergroup relations are prevalent in Lake N?

6. How are friendship bonds both strengthened and disrupted by the seasonality of the Lake N vacation community?

7. What is the importance of cliques in social power strategy and implementation in Lake N?

8. What visiting and hospitality patterns are most evident by local and summer Lake N residents for those within and outside of the community?

9. How many voluntary associations are there in Lake N, what is the purpose of each, and how are they related to each other?

10. Which voluntary associations within Lake N are prone to ingroup and intergroup antagonisms?

11. To what extent do Lake N voluntary associations seem to reflect and reinforce age and sex divisions?

12. To what extent do Lake N voluntary associations seem to reflect and reinforce friendship and clique formations?

13. How do the stratification systems of local and summer residents in Lake N compare and which stratification system predominates in Lake N?

14. At which locations do most social relationships take place in Lake N?

Marriage and family

1. Where do Lake N youths most commonly meet their potential dating and marriage partners?

2. To what extent is dating and marriage between members of local and summer residential groups accepted and encouraged in Lake N?

3. How common is it for newlyweds from Lake N to reside in Lake N?

4. How stable are marriages in Lake N?

5. What is the average family size in Lake N?

6. How extensive and important are systems of kinship in Lake N?

7. What kinds of interpersonal relationships are common among kinsmen in Lake N by age, sex, and type of kinship?

8. How frequently do married children of Lake N residents usually return to Lake N to visit their parents?

9. How general are the occurrences of premarital and extramarital sex relations in Lake N?

Socialization and age grades

1. What is the attitude toward and treatment of infants and children in Lake N?

2. What childhood activities are common in Lake N?

3. What is the attitude toward and treatment of adolescents in Lake N among local residents?

4. What adolescent activities are common in Lake N?

5. What privileges and responsibilities come with adulthood in Lake N?

6. What adult activities are common in Lake N?

7. What is the attitude toward and treatment of aged residents in Lake N?

8. What activities are common among aged residents of Lake N?

9. Which subsystems in Lake N are most instrumental in the transmission of norms, skills, and beliefs?

Community and political organizations

1. What is the political structure of Lake N?

2. How are local officials selected in Lake N?

3. How effective are formal and informal social control measures in Lake N?

4. What are the jurisdictions and regular activities of official policy making bodies in Lake N?

5. How is Lake N related to larger political entities both structurally and functionally?

6. What is the state of dependency between Lake N and the larger political entities with which it is connected?

Social problems and sanctions

1. What are the most common social problems in Lake N?

2. What means are most frequently employed in Lake N to deal with social problems?

3. Which subsystems are most capable of employing sanctions and preventing social problems in Lake N?

4. What is the court system in Lake N and how effective is it?

5. How does the small population size of Lake N act as a deterrent to deviation?

Religion, sickness, and death

1. What religious denominations are present in Lake N and how do these churches differ in religious beliefs and practices?

2. What is the status-role of clergy in Lake N?

3. How central is religious activity in the community life of Lake N?

4. To what extent is interfaith cooperation evident among Lake N churches?

5. What activities are expected of churches in Lake N with regard to sickness and death?

6. What medical care facilities are available to Lake N residents and to what extent is adequate medical care considered as a problem for local residents?

7. What are the community reactions to death in Lake N and how do funerals serve as an integrating force for the community?

With the theoretical directions established and the research questions set out, the task is now to explicate the actual research procedures used in the present study. It should be made clear that the actual research procedures that will be presented in the next chapter are an outgrowth of the methodological conclusions drawn in Chapters One and Two as well as the theoretical-methodological conclusions of the present chapter. Up to this point the contents of the present work have been concerned with documenting and supporting a position adhered to by this writer with regard to sociological research. Chapter Four will move further in the same direction by specifying the techniques used in the present research.

CHAPTER FOUR: FIELD METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

Considerable attention has already been given to sociological methodology. Chapter One considered sociological methodological use patterns from historical and contemporary perspectives, Chapter Two discussed the natural history and the holistic approaches as promising modes of sociological investigation, and the first part of Chapter Three contended that holistic methodologies would be more consistent with sociological theory than is the variable analysis that seems to dominate sociological methodology at the present time. Throughout these chapters there has been one theme that should be considered as overriding; that is, no single sociological methodology is sufficient for all sociological investigations, but instead sociology should promote a methodological pluralism and the supplementary use of an array of methods.

The present writer agrees with H. Becker and G. Geer that, "The most complete form of sociological datum, after all, is the form in which the participant observer gathers it: an observation of some social event, the events which precede and follow it, and explanation of its meaning by participants and spectators, before, during, and after its occurrence" (12, p. 28). It is because participant observation is able to gather both the objective and subjective aspects of an ongoing social situation that it may be judged to yield the most complete form of sociological datum. There are, however, shortcomings to the participant observation approach to sociological research (106, pp. 343-353). The possibilities of becoming overly subjective, viewing the object of study from a limited status-role viewpoint, and not gathering certain information because of close

involvement with either factions, cliques, or individuals are real and cannot be dismissed easily. For these and other reasons, participant observation must be supplemented by other research techniques. The "community study method" recommended by C. Arensberg combines participant observation with other research techniques to give the researcher a range of tools consistent with the recommendation for methodological pluralism and supplementary techniques (3).

Arensberg offers an outline describing information to be gathered in a community study as a guide for a German study using the community study method (3, pp. 36-40). The outline for the German study, which Arensberg uses as an example, has been adapted for the purpose of the present study and this adaptation is presented below.

Gathering and Analyzing Data For Community Studies*
Possible Techniques for the Study of Lake N
(Population 350+)

I. Spatial-temporal descriptions of the community of Lake N
   A. Spatial description:
      1. Topography, regional position, access, subordination
      2. Form of settlement: street arrangement, business and housing concentration, etc.
      3. Quasi-organic forms, e.g. the lake as a nucleus
      4. Questions of accessibility: Who may go where? Which areas are open to all?
      5. Historical displacement and changes, e.g. location of past industry, commercial centers, housing
      6. Community self description: What sections are distinguished? What names and nicknames applied?
      7. Land use: forms of fields, dwellings, gardens, commons, private plots, properties; also, as dictated by division and restriction of living space

*Adapted for the present study from Conrad M. Arensberg "The Community Study Method" in Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball, Culture and Community, New York, Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1965, pp. 36-40.

8. Communications and traffic: spatial movements within and between settlements, far end of lake, peripheries, delineation of trading areas, marriage radius, etc.

B. Temporal description:
   1. Traffic flow and communications activity (daily, weekly, seasonal, yearly rounds)
   2. Work round: production, employment, work cycles, punctuations, full and slack times
   3. Euphoric and dysphoric cycles: communal and ceremonial calendar rounds, festivities, opportunities for personal life, leisure, recreation, etc.
   4. Family cycles: meals, work, sleep, festivities, birth, marriage, life-cycle, age-grading
   5. Recurrent crises: sickness, dejection, etc.
   6. Sporadic crises: lake disaster, fire, epidemic
   7. Economic and budgeting round: periodic income, employment

The results of this typological exploration should supply answers to the question: What is Lake N?

II. Direct and indirect techniques for observing family structures and their relation to the community
   A. Direct observation: participant observation, biographical interviews, (life histories), family questionnaire sample, school essays used for determining family structure and internal relationship patterns
      1. Roles of family members, participations, relationships in behavior and affect
      2. Patterns of conditioning of members (socialization, child-rearing by other members, including disciplines and taboos)
      3. Education and vocational training: training methods and contexts, within the family, inside and outside of school, school system, content of education, school and family contact, vocational and cultural aspirations, training contents, contexts, and methods
   B. Indirect observation: use of attitudinal and value materials
      1. Study of sanctions and social control measures through
         a. collection of court, police, and relief records
         b. open-end interviews with clergy, town and governmental officials, club and association officers, fellow members, with particular attention to individual, family, and community crises
      2. Study of local evaluations of local types of persons, e.g. moral and aesthetic attitudes and beliefs about persons, classes, groups, etc., by means of
         a. free interviews based on provocative materials, chance events, daily contact, or incidental description
         b. analysis of newspapers, speeches, public and ceremonial utterances
         c. biographies and local personal histories, letters, essays, personal documents
      3. Study of collective myths and local history as they are locally accepted and transmitted.

III. Direct description of institutional and cultural patterns, roles, and structural relationships in larger aggregates: techniques for dealing with settlements, churches, as they relate to community life.

A. Cultural, institutional patterns of interpersonal and intergroup interaction, coordination, and deference.

B. Role analysis, formal and informal statuses, and sanctions thereupon.

C. Interactional relationship mapping of sample groups of varying sizes.

These to be used for:

D. The settlements (residential and neighborhood groupings) and class segregations to describe:

1. Age groups and age grade patterns, including youth activities, both informal and organized; adult, old age, and childhood groups, patterns, and activities; with mechanisms of transition, control, exclusion, sanction, etc.
2. Intersexual patterns outside the family
   a. adolescence and youth, including courtship, mate search, sex education and experiments, taboos, family and community controls, exogamic and endogamic tendencies or restrictions
   b. adult sexuality, with control of sexual relations in marriage prudery; sex morality, institutional and informal sanction; class variations and differences
3. Ritual and ceremonial interpersonal interaction, transition and expansion of familial relationships, kinship, godparentship, neighbor and friendship patterns, inheritance and ritual and social obligation, mutual aid.
4. Secular and casual interfamily relationships, visiting, gossip, quarreling, display.
5. Informal communal regulation and social control over
   a. space, as gardens, streets, animals, vehicles, and contrasts with official institutional controls over the same
   b. time, as sleep, sickness, life crises, etc.
   c. interpersonal relationships, disputes, etc.

E. The formal religious and the secular communes described through:

1. Inventory of formal offices and organizations
2. Analysis of community participation, membership in formal statuses, organizations, and associations, residence, occupation, and social class, etc., using official statistics and demographic sources.
3. Inventory and analysis of associations and their membership through study of overlapping membership, rules, functions, leadership, activities, rituals, purposes, histories through interview and documents.
4. Interactional analysis, through records, observation, and anecodotal descriptions of all official-private contacts,

over sample times, at each level, and in all sequences: Who brought what to whom? When? For what purpose? With what outcome?

5. Both content analysis and the above interactional analysis to be used on interviews and documents referring to local functionaries, characterizing them or giving local attitudes toward them, as well as on formal records of offical projects and proceedings as well as city reports, court records, etc., including newspaper files.

IV. Description and analysis of social stratification, class structure, and categoric organizations larger than the community.

A. Dynamics of internal relations:

1. Analysis of interview and secondary data for class and prestige values, terms, categories, scales, or recurrent life or interactional patterns.
2. Positional analysis, clique studies; among membership groups in associations, occupational groups, other defined categories; with construction therefrom of measures of relative cohesion, solidarity, or social distance.
3. Survey of values, taste, and preference, household and possession inventories.
4. Analysis of deviants, status maintenance, sanctions, studies of cross class marriage, households, etc.
5. Rankings of representative members of the population of themselves and others.

B. Dynamics and external relations: principally the summer residents and mutual effects, including outward mobility of full time residents and the attraction of new residents to the community.

1. Analysis of in and out migration over time.
2. Informants' accounts of the attempts of outside business and residents to become established or effect change.
3. Impressions held by the full time residents of summer residents and vice versa.
4. Disagreement as to the desirability of attracting visitors from the external system.
   a. teenage dances, 4th of July, homecoming, fishing contests
   b. house and cabin rentals, overnight park guests, seasonal home owners.
5. Institutional interconnections with seasonal residents, short term residents, and visitors.
6. Open end interviews with officials of the external agencies with interests in the community, social workers, school officals, extension agents, county officials.
7. Mailed questionnaire to summer residents to determine degree of community identification and involvement.
8. Intensive study of crises, if any; e.g., elections and issues of concern to the community.

Because the community study method used in combination with the natural history frame of reference and guided by the research questions presented in the last chapter seemed the most applicable for the present research, this was the methodological direction taken in the study of Lake N. Seven techniques were used in combination in such a way that each technique gave a slightly different data product and the data product of each technique, in turn, increased the utility of the other techniques. These seven techniques are: 1) participant observation, 2) house-to-house canvassing, 3) non-directive interviewing, 4) public opinion questioning, 5) kinship analysis, 6) historical analysis, and 7) secondary data analysis. Each of the above research techniques was employed in the study of Lake N in the following manner.

Participant observation

As suggested above, participant observation is a valuable research technique in sociology because it permits the researcher to gather a range of information, both objective and subjective, relative to a particular event or series of events. A researcher using the participant observation technique may occupy an ongoing community status-role and not identify himself as a researcher, (58) or he may take a status-role that is new to the community, that of community researcher, and support it with existing community status-roles (132, 133). In the present research, both the non-identified and the identified participant observation variations were employed as it was reasoned that both variations have advantages and disadvantages for effective data gathering.

During the summer of 1965, research was conducted as a non-identified participant observor in the status-role of an office employee at a boys camp in the community. The boys camp, about which more will be said later, is located at the west edge of the population concentration of the village of Lake N. While in the employ of the boys camp, living quarters and meals were supplied by the camp thereby limiting, to some extent, contact with the larger community. However, the employment was unique in that it consisted of driving to Duluth-Superior only two days each week in order to get needed supplies and, on occasion, running camp errands in Lake N. The balance of the week was free from any camp duties. By this arrangement, the greater part of every week was given over to research activities about which the community, with the exception of the camp directors and several other select people, was unaware.

Each day's pattern of behavior was somewhat similar, with the exception of the two working days, beginning with breakfast at the camp and then a walk of four blocks into the village business district. The camp maintained its own time system by remaining on standard time while the rest of the community was on daylight saving time. Arrival on "Main Street" therefore corresponded to morning coffee break time for merchants and other residents, many of whom would stop at the "drug store" after picking up their mail at the Post Office. A valuable part of the morning research pattern was to stop at the "drug store" for a cup of coffee. Here there was conversation about the weather, upcoming events, and unusual occurrences. The greatest problem was that both the merchants and other residents seemed extremely busy, and increasingly busy toward the weekend, thus limiting the amount of time that they would spend in coffee time

conversation. After a slow cup and a half of coffee coupled with a great deal of listening and some talking, the next step was to check the community bulletin board located outside of the "drug store." The bulletin board contained notices of scheduled events, advertisements for local services such as well drilling, and occasional listings of items for sale by the local population.

Following the "Main Street" visit, the next step in the non-identified participant observor routine was to follow one of several alternate routes back toward the camp. If someone was working in their yard, a "good morning" would frequently lead to a short conversation. Other times, the park with its campground area would provide activity of interest, and on other occasions either children playing or a road being repaired would be observed with notations made in the always present notebook.

Throughout the period of two and one half months, mornings were spent in the above manner while afternoons and evenings were flexible, with special events in the community sometimes demanding attention, while warm weather would lead to the lake front where the greatest activity was to be found. Evenings consisted of bicycle rides, long walks, and returns to "Main Street." When the weather was inclement or the community seemed quiet, notetaking would be brought up to date and past notes would be reviewed.

In this fashion, a considerable amount of time was spent observing community life but there were some obvious limitations to the data that were obtained. Identified as a camp employee, there was present in the intentional wanderings about the community a status-role that brought with it a limited access to some information and community activities. For the

most part, camp employees are considered by the local residents to be a special category of summer residents and therefore suffer from two accounts of segregation from community life. Furthermore, as a non-identified researcher, it was impossible to interview except in the most loosely defined non-directive manner. There were, because of these limitations, potentials for gathering information which could not be profitably explored if the position of non-identified researcher was to be maintained. The rationale for maintaining the non-identified participant observer position was that during the second phase of the field work the identified participant observer approach was to be used and it was felt that the shortcomings of not being able to pursue some leads during the first, non-identified researcher phase, could be overcome during the second phase.

The second phase of the field work was done as a self-identified researcher. Originally this phase was to last from mid September 1966 until late November 1966 with the researcher and his family living in Lake N and engaging themselves in community life as intensively as possible. Events over which the researcher had no control led to an abandonment of this original plan, however. On the first night in residence an unvented gas water heater in the field headquarters malfunctioned causing the house to fill with soot. With the occupants and the interior of the house well-blackened by soot, the source of the problem was finally located the following morning. By the next day it was clear that the house was inadequate for a field headquarters as the water heater could not be repaired for at least three weeks, the interior of the house would demand a major cleaning, and with the nights already quite cool, the space heater was judged to be incapable of heating the house during the cold weather which was sure

to come.

Because of the problems with the original field headquarters, the first item of business was to find another house to serve as field headquarters for the duration of the field work. No suitable headquarters was found after several weeks of searching but an important discovery was made in that house hunting proved to be a valuable way of gathering information about Lake N. As Sanders points out, one way to discern general community structure is to try to rent or buy a house (105, pp. 173-174). Questions such as, "Who are the local landlords?" "What do the interiors of rental properties look like?" and "How far will a community go to accommodate new residents?" can be answered quite effectively through the activity of house hunting.

With the real need for housing not being met, the second research phase was obviously not moving in the direction of the original plan. The budget for the second field work phase was limited to the extent that the housing disruption was placing some unintended strains on already scarce financial resources. At the juncture when the researcher was contemplating abandonment of the project, another unexpected event occurred. A job offer was made by the University of Minnesota, Duluth, with a teaching schedule arranged so that it would be possible to commute to Lake N for the purpose of carrying out a modified version of phase two. Taking advantage of this new option for salvaging the community study, the original phase two was replaced with a revised phase two that was to be actually implemented in the research reported here.

In the revised version of phase two of the field work, the researcher lived in Duluth, Minnesota, some thirty miles from Lake N, and commuted to

the vacation community for the purpose of the research. A total of at least 75 round trips between Duluth and Lake N was made during the revised second phase of the field work that lasted from September 1966 until November 1967. The usual pattern was to leave the University at Duluth after teaching in the early morning and drive to Lake N where the first stop would be one of the two grocery stores. After receiving a rundown of the local events from the grocer and making several other stops to talk with informants, the range of research activities would vary from observation of events and activities to house-to-house canvassing to non-directive interviewing. More will be said about the specifics of house-to-house canvassing and non-directive interviewing; what should be emphasized here is that participant observation activities, like all of the techniques used in the research, supplemented and were supplemented by the other research techniques and therefore are not as distinct as the present manner of presentation would indicate.

Having previously worked with Boy Scouts, this activity was selected as a means of taking a community status-role, Boy Scout leader, as well as a way of legitimating some of the demands that were made in the status-role of community researcher. The status-role of Boy Scout leader led to regular contacts with a segment of the male youth in the community and with two other Boy Scout leaders. Through involvement in Boy Scout activities it was also possible to meet some of the boy's fathers in informal settings such as after the weekly meetings and during campouts. In this manner a variety of sub-status-roles grew out of the status-role of Boy Scout leader and access to the community was increased.

As mentioned earlier, one of the reasons Lake N was selected to be

studied was that relatives of the researcher had lived and were living in the community. The status-role of "nephew" was, therefore, another community status-role that served a supportive function relative to the newly introduced status-role of community researcher. When asked, "Who are you?" one of the most effective answers was, "Nephew of Mrs. C." for that would permit the questioner to assign a kinship affiliation in a kinship structure having meaning in the community for more than fifty years.

With these two supportive status-roles and the primary status-role of community researcher, a range of meetings and events were participated in and observed with the observations always being carefully recorded in the field notebook and later in the daily log and the file pertaining to the area of activity observed. Much of what was observed was given substance through the information gained in house-to-house canvassing and non-directive interviewing and, of course, while these latter two activities were ongoing, observation was also taking place. Because the house-to-house canvassing and non-directive interviewing were so frequently used in combination, they will be discussed together.

Canvassing and interviewing

Early in the field work it was decided to carry out a house-to-house canvass because it was felt that this technique could yield some systematic information about the community residents. An even more important reason for the canvassing was the clear impression that persons who are not close friends do not call on others at their homes without a reason. As a researcher it would be valuable if residents could be visited without a

specific stated reason for the visit so as to permit non-directive interviewing, but on occasions where residents were called on at their homes "just to talk" the reception was suspicious and the results were not especially productive.

The house-to-house canvassing technique was used, therefore, not only to gather systematic information about the population but more importantly to provide a purpose for a visit. It would take less than fifteen minutes to complete the house-to house census schedule but most contacts lasted an hour and a half and some lasted an entire afternoon. Some respondents would elaborate their responses, with the researcher's encouragement, while going through the schedule, while others would answer the questions very matter of factly, give a sigh of relief when the questioning was over, and then become quite talkative. The decision that the researcher made relative to the house-to-house canvassing was that the more valuable objective was the non-directive interviewing and the house-to-house interviewing was primarily a means of gaining entrance to homes by providing an expressed purpose for the visit. For this reason, the entire population was not canvassed as priority was given to non-directive interviewing where the data yield was determined to be greater but where the time requirements were also greater.

The house-to-house census schedule contained questions dealing with household composition, employment, housing, trade and service patterns, leisure time and recreation patterns, and kinship. It was administered from October 1966 to June 1967 with its greatest use in the months of October through December of 1966. In addition to the questions in the areas mentioned above, the house-to-house census schedule contained an

appendix check list that was a modified version of "Chapin's living room scale" (18, pp. 116-119). The appendix check list was completed after the interview, therefore demanding that the researcher pay close attention to the interior and exterior physical characteristics of each house visited. As many non-directive interviews following the census lasted for several hours or more, the researcher would emerge from the interview with a considerable amount of information that needed elaboration in the form of detailed notes. The check list permitted the researcher to perform a quick accounting of selected physical characteristics of the house visited and then return to an elaboration of the topics covered in the non-directive interview.

Located near the end of the house-to-house census schedule, the questions dealing with use of leisure time and recreation activities proved to be most effective in eliciting comments relative to the structure of the community. Statements about friendship groups, voluntary associations, and cliques were made as it was within these structures that leisure time and recreation activities took place. The majority of respondents used these questions as an opportunity to "open up" in making comments about the community and the ways in which it structured action. Of course, the researcher encouraged this "opening up" by questions requiring further comments on the statements that were made. Non-directive interviewing was comparatively easy once the respondent warmed up to his topic and the researcher had only to make brief notes and direct occasional probe questions. Interviewing community leaders and knowledgeable persons from outside of the community was far more demanding.

Community leaders were interviewed by appointment and, with few

exceptions, they were reserved in their responses. Without exception, the leaders appeared defensive in regard to past actions, present conditions, and future commitments relating to the community. In part, the defensiveness may be explained by the power conflict which was being played out in the community and about which more will be said in Part Two. Knowledgeable persons from outside of the community were linked professionally to Lake N. Their views of Lake N were considerably different from those of the Lake N residents with professional involvement structuring a trained incapacity, restricted understanding prompted by specialization, that in most instances limited the knowledgeable outsider's view of Lake N. Because of the trained incapacity and the occupational demands of a busy workday, a more formal interviewing format had to be used for knowledgeable outsiders. Again, with some exceptions, knowledgeable outsiders gave factual information more often than personal views and many, in their presentation of "facts", showed a considerable ignorance of the actual conditions in Lake N.

Throughout the canvassing and interviewing, attitudinal statements were made by community actors and recorded by the researcher. Other attitudinal statements were made by informants and by local residents in informal discussions, at public meetings, and in printed form. Attitudinal statements from these sources were incorporated into a public opinion questionnaire that was sent to the residents toward the end of the field work. The connection between the subjective data that were gathered in the field work and the public opinion questionnaire is another instance where the research techniques were used in conjunction with one another in order to supplement one another.

Public opinion questionnaire

After working in Lake N as a self-identified community researcher for slightly less than one year, the field notes and secondary data file were reviewed for statements indicating the attitudes of Lake N residents. A wide range of attitude statements emerged from this review thus providing a base on which to build a public opinion survey. The public opinion survey was intended to provide a measure of the acceptance and rejection of attitudes held by some of the residents of Lake N and brought to the researcher's attention either in the field work or secondary data investigations. Fifty attitudinal assertions were included in the survey to which the respondents had the choice of either agreeing, disagreeing, or expressing no opinion. The lead information included with a letter stating the purpose of the survey requested the respondent to indicate his sex, his age, either under or over thirty five, and his length of residence in Lake N.

The questionnaire was sent to all households in the community using a mailing list supplied by the volunteer fire department as a base and modifying this list in light of mail returned to the sender from earlier informational mailings, of which there were two, and knowledge of residence changes obtained during the field work. Of the 127 questionnaires sent out, 70 were completed and returned. Of the 70 returns, 54.3 per cent were filled out by males, 34.3 per cent by females, with no information as to sex for 11.4 per cent. The respondents were largely older than thirty five, with 75.7 per cent over this age division, 20.0 per cent under this age division, and no age information given for 4.3 per cent of the respondents. Length of residence ranged from 1 to 75 years, with an average of 19.3 years.

The results of the public opinion survey were presented at the annual dinner meeting of the Lake N Community Association on November 4, 1967, with roughly one half of the adults in the community present. Presentation of the public opinion survey marked the end of the field work as it was the purpose of the presentation not only to inform the residents of the survey results but to polarize the listeners into those favoring community change and those opposed to community change. In order to accomplish this purpose, the interpretation of the survey results was framed in a strong community development oriented delivery. Several of the community leaders were visibly disturbed by the presentation while others appeared very supportive of the community development position. Conversation with those in attendance and with informants after the presentation also helped to make clear the polarizing effect of the talk.

Another public opinion device that was used midway through phase two of the research was a request for a short essay about Lake N to be written by members of the senior English class at the consolidated high school serving Lake N but located in another community. The high school contained students from many of the communities neighboring Lake N and it was therefore intended that the essays could serve to give both an outside and inside perspective by youth of the community of Lake N. The high school officials and the English teacher were most helpful in granting and implementing the Lake N essay request. Some of the resulting essays had the effect of alerting the researcher to community issues and others provided information about issues already of interest to the researcher. For the most part, the essays were written from an attitudinal frame of reference; however, several students took on the assignment from a historical point

of view by talking with some of the older residents of Lake N, while others used newspaper and other secondary data sources for their essays. The use of historical and secondary data in the high school essays is another example of the overlap of research techniques, for both of these sources were explored by the researcher as well.

Historical and secondary data

In keeping with the holistic approach to the study of community, the present research sought to understand Lake N not only from a contemporary point of view, although the contemporary concern has been of greatest interest, but also to understand the community in its historical development. How did the community come into being? What have been the community socio-cultural patterns from the early days to the present? These are questions that must be considered in trying to discern the contemporary patterns of a community.

Little problem was experienced in historical questioning as many respondents wanted to talk about the past rather than about the present. Some community residents never understood the purpose of the research project as they had trouble conceiving of anyone doing anything but a historical study of the community. Such residents would offer, with great satisfaction, bits of curious lore out of Lake N's past. Of course, such contributions to the research were well received and most helpful in grasping the community's history.

Apart from the solicited and unsolicited verbal accounts of Lake N's history, several limited written reports of the history of Lake N were

available in the Superior Public Library and in some disorganized historical reporting at the County Historical Society. Keen disappointment was experienced with regard to written histories, however, because there were no logs, diaries, or other original chronicles that gave either a well rounded or personal overview of the development of Lake N from its early days to the present. The researcher's impression in working with written historical materials is that the histories of small towns are largely lost with the deaths of senior citizens who have pioneered the communities but who have been so occupied with building businesses and erecting brick and mortar that they have not taken the time to document their own efforts. Only a few historians feel the significance of gathering small town histories but their efforts are, in many midwestern communities, already ten years too late.

One important secondary data source that is valuable, but limited, in understanding community history is the newspaper record. Lake N had its own newspaper, the Enterprise, but in reviewing editions from 1899 until 1909, when the name was changed to The Star Enterprise for one year before publication was discontinued, the researcher was struck by the lack of local news. Some local news was found on the first and the last pages but most of the items were of little lasting local significance. Most of the news reported in the Enterprise related to state, national, and international events. It would be supposed that in the days before radio and television, a newspaper's prime function in a small community would be to report external rather than internal events and for this reason small town newspaper accounts are, with exceptions, limited in the contributions they can make to the understanding of local history.

Far more importance can be attached to newspapers as secondary data sources apart from historical information they may supply about a community. R. James suggests that community structure may be discerned through newspaper analysis by reference to parties, weddings, funerals, and other similar family related events that take place within a community (53, pp. 102-109). Allowing some limitation for Lake N's size, 350 people, and lack of a local newspaper, the newspaper published in the county seat and serving the county was treated as one of the prime secondary data sources. All articles dealing with Lake N appearing in the Superior Evening Telegram from January 1946 to January 1966 were copied in duplicate on five by eight inch cards with the help of a student assistant. One copy of the newspaper information was placed in a chronological file, the other copy was filed by topics, as follows: 1) political, 2) community association, 3) PTA, 4) church, 5) social control, 6) visitations, 7) obituaries, 8) sports, 9) Odd Fellows, 10) school, 11) illness, 12) Tamburitzans, 13) weddings, 14) weather, 15) American Legion, 16) Fire Department, 17) Boy Scouts, 18) Garden Club, and 19) miscellaneous.

The value of this newspaper secondary data in effectively carrying out the participant observation and interviewing cannot be underrated. By reading through the newspaper accounts it was possible to become alerted to past events and present relationships that were otherwise not evident. Questions could then be asked of community residents relating to specific occurrences. Such questions frequently had the response of surprise by the resident at the researcher's awareness of such particularized pieces of knowledge and this reaction was often followed by the development of firm rapport between the respondent and the researcher. In this way, the

newspaper secondary data helped to get information about specifics which illustrated the community structure and structure change and served to increase the rapport between the community residents and the researcher so as to alert the researcher to still other specifics and sources of data.

There are signs of growing interest in techniques of nonreactive research in sociology and the other social sciences. A recent publication entitled, Unobtrusive Measures, deals with nonreactive research techniques and gives two chapters over to the use of archives (129, pp. 53-111). The advantage and potentials for use of archives is well demonstrated in the chapters cited above, but one point that needs additional comment is the difficulty of access to archives. In this regard the present researcher was not particularly successful, for although some records were opened for inspection others could be obtained only by asking specifically for the item desired and often the researcher knew neither the correct name of the document nor its precise content. Where archives were open to the public they were consulted, but where archives were private or were considered by their holders to be private, the task of obtaining them was greater, in most instances where this was tried, than was the actual data yield. Some potentially useful information was bypassed for this reason.

Overview of the techniques

It was pointed out in Chapter Two that more is presently being written about research techniques relevant to the holistic approach. Not all of this writing is useful in aiding a researcher; however, with the purpose of some works such as, The Human Perspective in Sociology, becoming lost

in the philosophical debates and discussions instead of giving a positive direction to the reader (16). The most valuable sources in helping the researcher, apart from the direction of experienced field researchers, is the discussion of actual field procedures used in other studies (113). One significant exception to this statement is the chapter by Scott in The Handbook of Organizations, where he is able to summarize general field work techniques by way of his own insight so as to produce a most instructive discussion (107).

Having spent approximately fifteen months in carrying out the field work for the present study, it is difficult to communicate effectively to the reader the full dynamics of the research techniques discussed above. The intention of the present chapter has been neither to provide a philosophical rationale for holistic studies nor to give a general discussion of research techniques. Instead the purpose has been to state the manner in which the range of techniques was used in the present study. Although it is difficult to show clearly the dynamics of this multiple technique investigation employed within a holistic frame of reference, it should be clear from the foregoing that there is an interplay between the output and input of the techniques used in the present research. The result of this interplay is highly recommended for its effectiveness such that if a general statement were made in concluding the present chapter it would have to relate to the supplementing effect of research techniques when used in combination. As such, the general concluding statement would have application not only to the present chapter but to the whole of the present work.

The recommendation of methodological pluralism made in Chapter One is prompted by the demonstrated rise of quantification to a position of

dominance in American sociological research. Sociological research is faced with severe limitations where quantification has excluded all other approaches. The limitations of sociological research comes about as follows: 1) there is a loss of the supplementary relationship between research approaches, 2) there is an implicit imperialism by the proponents of quantification, 3) there is a misplaced specialization of method, and 4) there is a neglect of the objective properties of social systems. In order to right the methodological balance in sociology, corrective measures must be taken, such as: 1) the promotion of the "middle range" methodological position, 2) the intentional increase of the supplementary relationship between research procedures, 3) the achievement of a reproachment where no single research procedure is dominant, and 4) the greater acceptance of techniques such as observation in sociological research.

A consideration of two promising research approaches was taken up in Chapter Two. These two techniques have been successfully used in research where the objective and the methodological requirements are similar to those of sociology. The natural history approach has served as an effective means for the ecological oriented biologist in his attempt to discover the interdependent patterns of animal and plant life in their natural settings. Social and cultural anthropologists' use of the holistic approach has in common certain features with the natural history approach such as the heavy reliance on the researcher's observations of a natural setting in vivo. Both approaches also address their attention to the objective properties of the system that they are studying although it is clear in the anthropological approach that the subjective properties of the system must be understood in combination with the objective properties. The

natural history approach and the holistic approach, seen as promising modes of investigation, are adapted to the investigation of the present research problem.

Modes of society and man accepted by the sociologist greatly influence what he looks for as well as what he sees (52, p. 28). Chapter Three reviews the models of society, man, and methodology of four eminent sociological theorists and concludes that there is a "credibility gap" between the theoretical formulations of each of these theorists and the variable analysis that is often separated from descriptive data as a part of the methodological dominance of quantification. Durkheim's discussion of "collective representations" and "social facts", Simmel's treatment of "forms of sociation", Radcliffe-Brown's insistence on the development of a science of social systems, and Parsons' elaboration of the "theory of action" with the central concern of the social system, all emphasize the objective-subjective properties of collectivities. Furthermore, all four theorists are clear as to the characteristics of investigations that are properly sociological and to those which are either psychological or in the realm of aggregate psychology. The present researcher proceeds with an awareness of sociological objectives in the operationalization of the research problem and the holistic formulation of research questions.

The present chapter makes the discussion of the methodological pluralism, the natural history and holistic approaches, and the models of society which have influenced the present writer's sociological viewpoint more specific by presenting the seven interdependent research techniques used in the investigation of Lake N. Each technique supplements and is supplemented by the others as they are used in a manner consistent with the

natural history and holistic frames of reference to accomplish a sociological research objective. Part Two of the present work will present the findings made possible through the interplay of the seven research techniques.

Before proceeding to the next chapters, the reader should be warned not to anticipate any dramatic discoveries for the purpose of these chapters is to detail the results of an investigation of patterns of social behavior within a social system that is, in many ways, commonplace to Americans because they have participated in similar social systems. When the anthropologist records the social behavior of the Bunyoro social system, his accounts are unusual when contrasted with the experiences of the western reader. The present account of an American community, on the other hand, is in many respects familiar to the western reader. Both the documented social systems of Bunyoro and Lake N stand a scientific acquaintance knowledge which may lead either to more profitable variable analysis or to comparative analysis. A brief comparative analysis will be undertaken in Chapter Eight as, in agreement with Radcliffe-Brown, (100) the present writer contends that comparative analysis is an important, although often neglected, method of sociological analysis.

CHAPTER FIVE: BACKGROUND TO THE COMMUNITY AND THE REGION

In way of a background to the socio-cultural study of Lake N and in keeping with the holistic approach, it is necessary to establish the geographic and historical characteristics of the community with regard to the region surrounding the community and to review the ecological and demographic composition of the community. As is to be expected, each geographic region and each community has special features and unique attributes that have to be accounted for if the socio-cultural aspects of the community are to be understood in their natural setting. With the present interest in approaching the community holistically and in its natural setting, the background information to be discussed takes on a more central importance than is usually the case for background information.

Because of the individuality of communities, it is necessary to examine the community in question as an object, but in that sociology's aim is to study recurrent patterns rather than particular occurrences, it is also necessary to study the community in question as a sample (2, pp. 8-9). When studying any community the particulars of that community need to be taken into account, thereby moving the investigator to approach the community as an object. Questions of the uniqueness of the community both in place and time need to be asked and certain portions of what Simmel terms "content" must be accumulated. At the same time, as Arensberg makes clear, if the community study is to serve a scientific purpose it must be general in a creation of a collective portrait derived from, but not enveloped in, particulars. Such a collective portrait is the presentation of the community

as a sample.

As suggested above, each community must be studied both as an object and as a sample. The present chapter will emphasize the study of Lake N as an object by concentrating on the unique background features of the community and surrounding region. In a manner of speaking, this chapter contains some of the substance from which the discussion of community as a sample, contained in the later chapters, will be built. The particulars of geography, history, ecology, and demography will, accordingly, reappear in general form in later chapters but the present discussion will be concerned with the presentations of the particulars of Lake N.

Geography

Douglas County, Wisconsin, is the most northwestern county in the state, bordered on the north by Lake Superior, on the east by Bayfield County, on the south by Washburn County, and on the west by the state of Minnesota. Superior, the county seat of Douglas County, covers an area of 42 square miles and is located in the extreme northwestern corner of the county. The city of Superior is part of the larger urban complex of Duluth-Superior, the twin port cities located at the western tip of Lake Superior. With this single urban exception, Douglas County consists of rolling woodland and semi-marginal farm land dotted with numerous lakes and streams.

Located in east central Douglas County, Lake N has the largest geographic area of any incorporated village in the state of Wisconsin, 9,280 acres. The large land area of Lake N is, in part, misleading because of the 997 acres occupied by the lake which serves as a nucleus of the

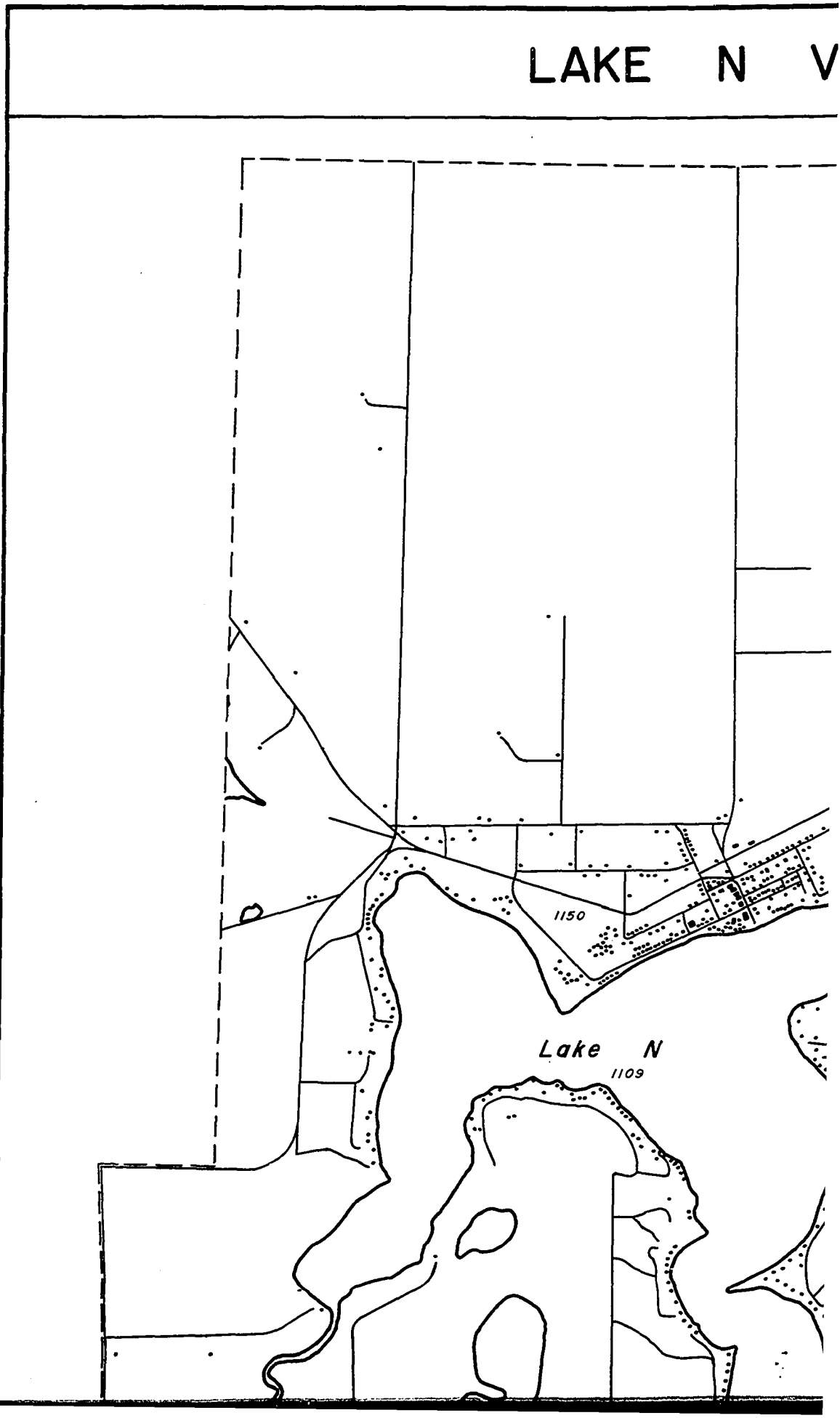
incorporated village. (Refer to Map 1) However, the actual effect of the lake is that of separating the village geographically because of the necessity of going around the lake in order to reach a location that is actually a much shorter distance across the lake.

The populated area of the village and the business establishments are located at the north end of the lake some twenty-five minutes travel time from the county seat, Superior. With the city of Superior located northwest of the incorporated village of Lake N it is possible for many summer residents and year around residents to bypass the Lake N business district altogether without any personal inconvenience. In fact, many residents living at the south end of the lake would be going out of their way to frequent the Lake N business district if they also had business in Duluth-Superior.

Douglas County and the entire Northern Wisconsin area has long, cold winters and short, mild summers. During the four harshest winter months the Duluth-Superior port is ice-bound with the result that transportation and related activities that are dependent on Lake Superior shipping are seasonally regulated by the weather. Because of the severity of the winter season, housing must be more substantial in this area than is necessary in more mild climates. Considerable amounts of insulation are required in home construction and substantial frost depths require footings, water lines, and septic tank piping to be buried deeply with the result that material and labor costs of building are high. Many of the summer homes found in the vacation areas are not adequate for winter use but are restricted in their use to late spring, summer, and early fall.

The summer season is mild rather than either warm or hot with the

Map 1. Village of Lake N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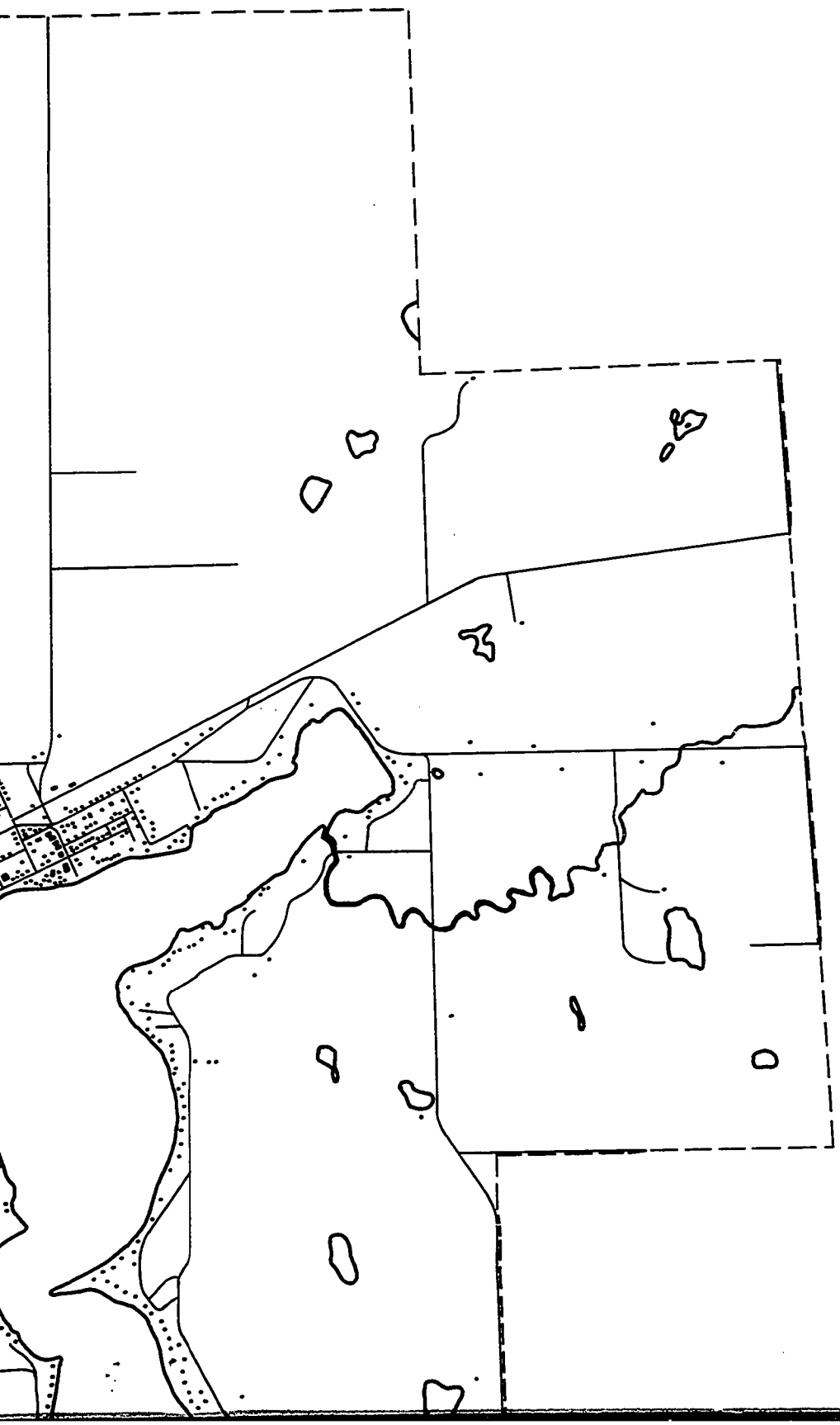

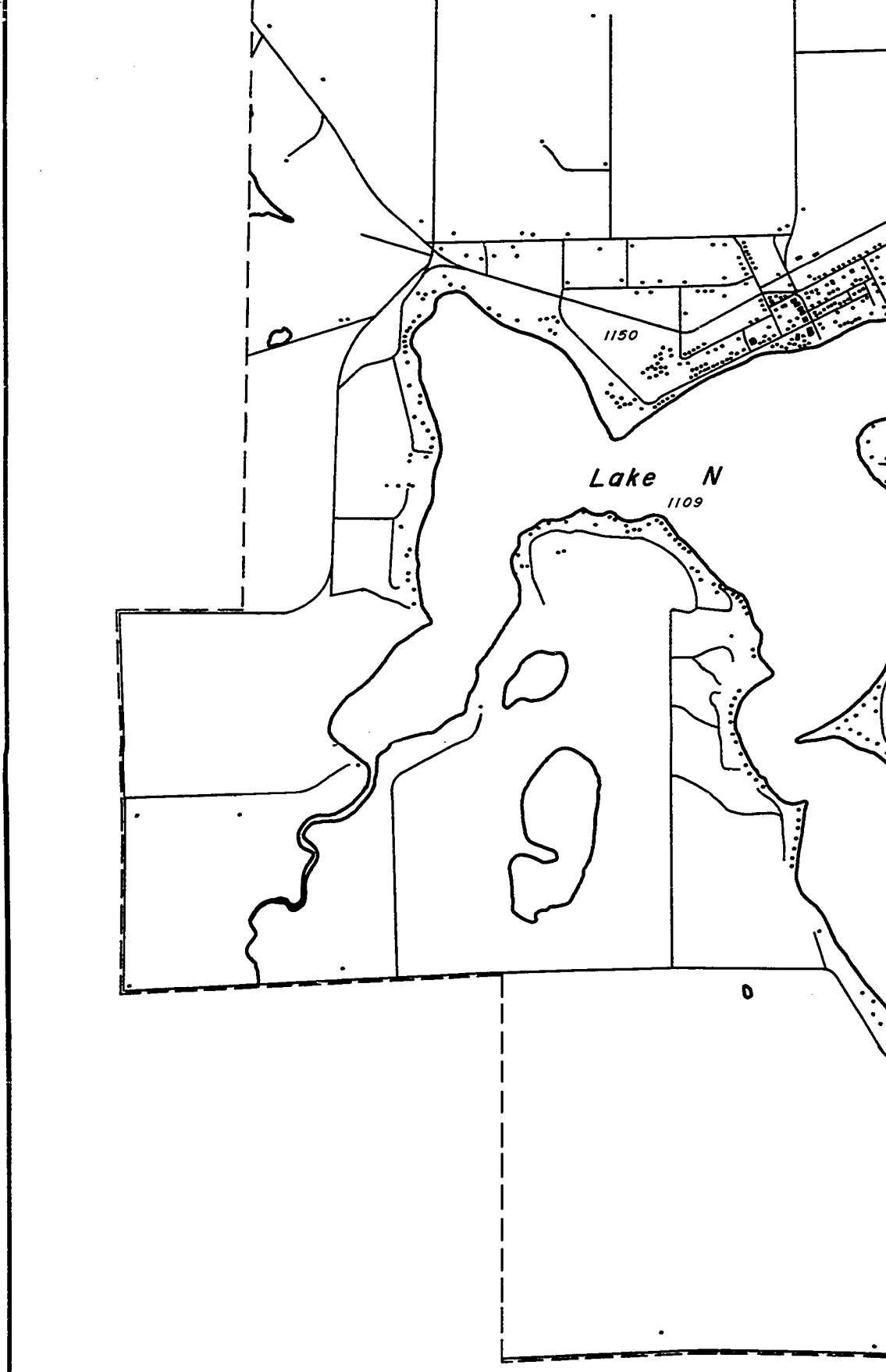
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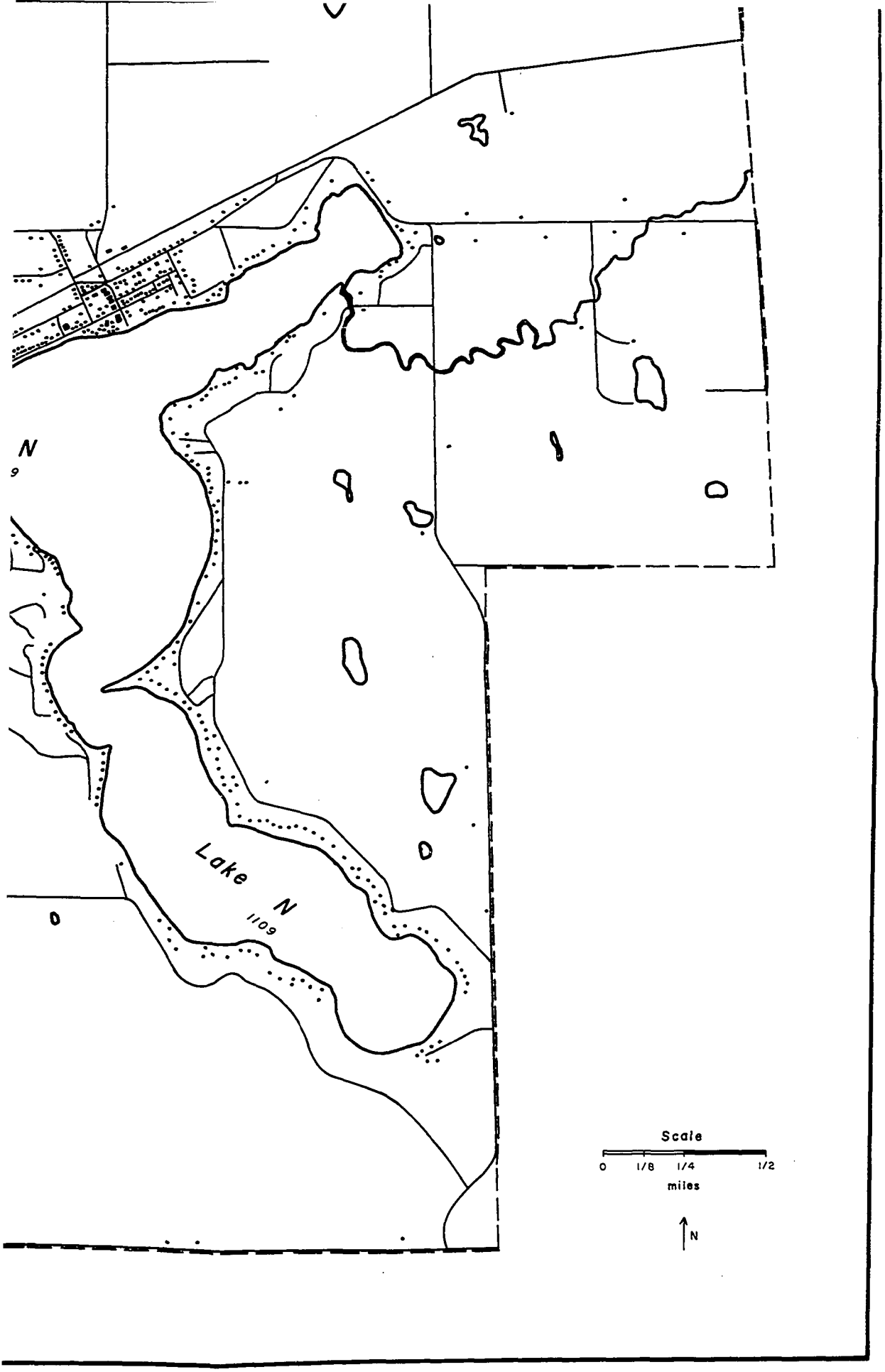
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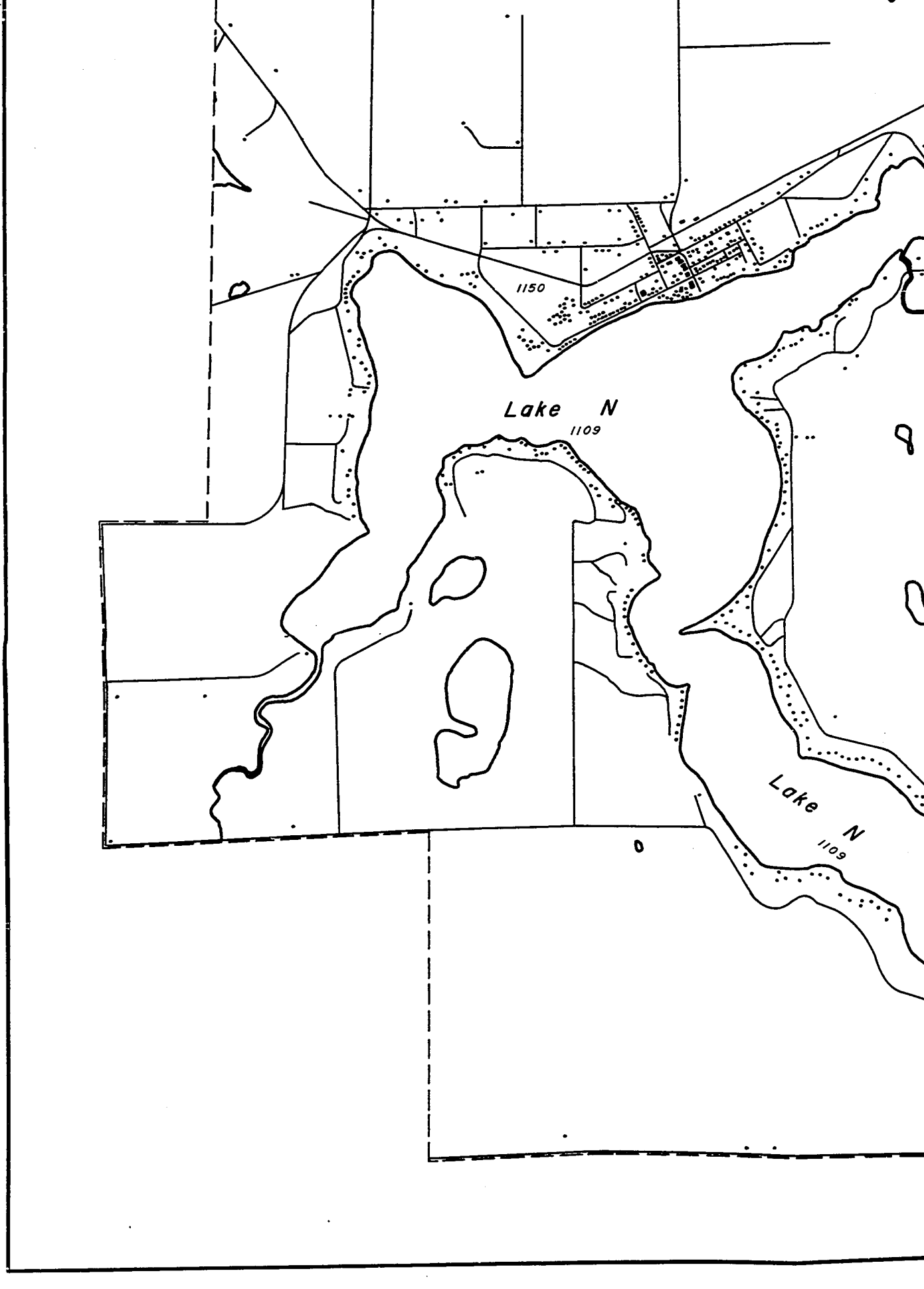
growing season ranging from 100 to 140 days. Lake Superior has a considerable effect on both the summer and the winter temperatures. Summer temperatures are warmer away from the big lake but the growing season is shorter. Winter temperatures are generally colder away from Lake Superior. These temperature differences are recognized by Duluth-Superior residents, many of whom spend their summers away from Lake Superior where it is possible to enjoy summer days that are, on an average, from 10 to 30 degrees warmer than are found in the 10 to 15 mile strip of land bordering Lake Superior.

Precipitation is moderate to heavy with Lake Superior once again acting as a modifying force. Greater snow depths are recorded away from the big lake than are found near its shores but during the spring and summer, more days of fog and light drizzle are experienced near Lake Superior than is true inland. Some of the weather differences between the shore of Lake Superior and the interior area are not accountable in terms of the big lake itself but are influenced by differences in elevation. For example, Superior has an elevation of from 600 to 750 feet whereas Lake N's elevation is 1,250 feet.

Lake N has the advantage of warmer summer weather than is found in Duluth-Superior but the disadvantage of colder temperatures during the winter months. The warmer summer temperatures combined with the large, clear water lake make Lake N appealing to residents of Duluth-Superior and portions of the upper midwest as a location for a summer home. When these summer residents return to their permanent homes after enjoying the advantages of the summer season, the year around residents of Lake N are faced with the disadvantage of the cold winter. The extent to which the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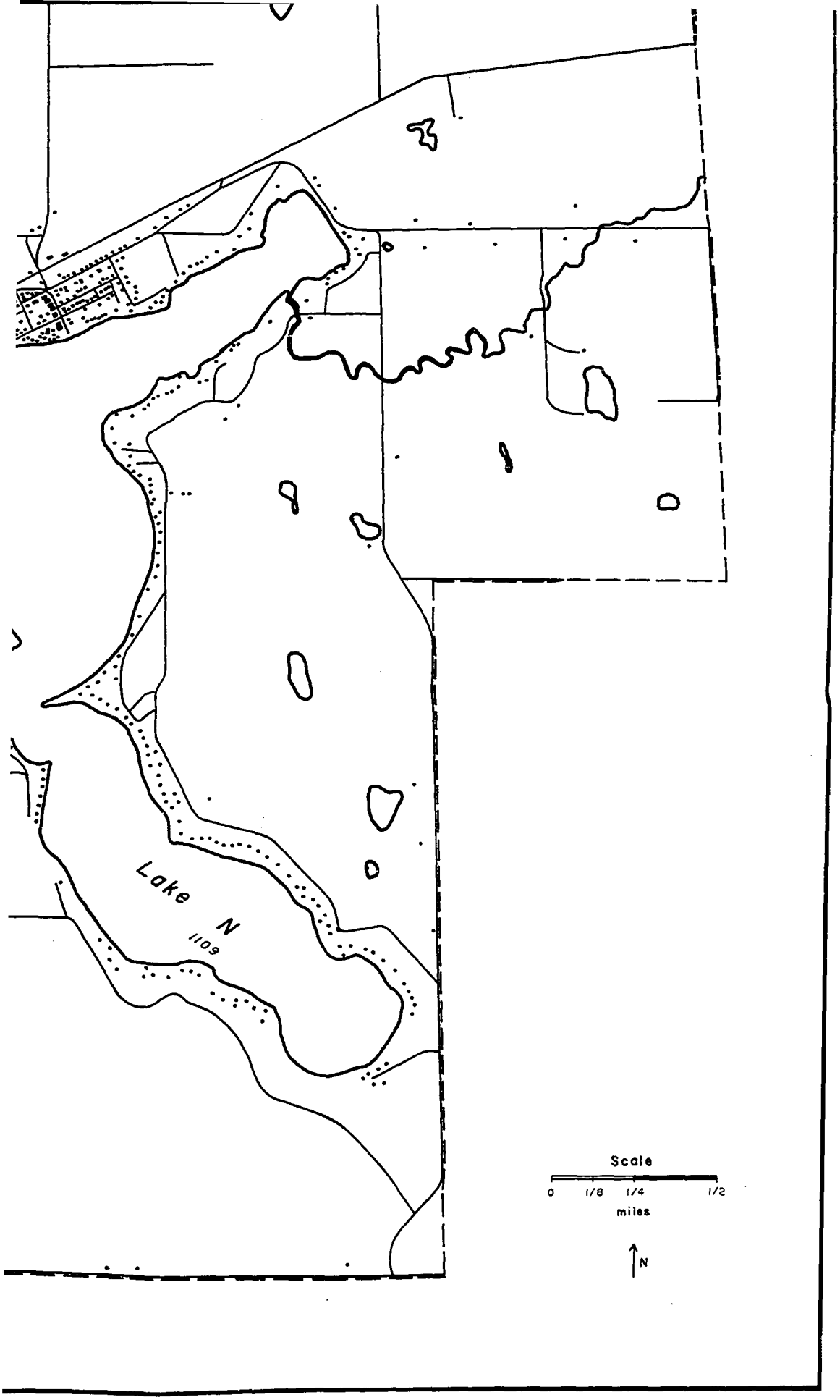
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cold winters are considered by Lake N year around residents to be a disadvantage is, like the weather itself, not definite. In response to the statement on the public opinion questionnaire, "I would like living in Lake N much better if the winters weren't so cold," there was 40 per cent agreement, 42.9 per cent disagreement, and 11.4 per cent of the respondents expressing no opinion. (Refer to Table 9).

The somewhat neutral response of the year around residents of Lake N to the statement about cold weather does not suggest an ambivalence to the weather conditions, but instead may be interpreted as an indication of a keen awareness of and appreciation for nature as manifest in weather patterns. Frost depths, navigation and its closing on the lake, the condition of the animals in the woods are topics of general interest and conversation in Lake N, as illustrated by the November 21, 1960 entry in the diary of W. B. Clark (20).*

> We have had some extraordinary weather this summer and fall which prompts me to write a few words about it. The past summer was unusually hot. Instead of having about one week of hot weather along about July, we had about a month of it. Everyone was commenting about it, and couldn't account for it.
>
> The delightful weather continued right up thru the fall months of Sept. and Oct. Along about the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd of Nov. we had 3½ inches of snow and everyone thought this was it - the winter had set in. But inside of two days the snow was all gone and it has been grand ever since to date, Nov. 21. The lowest temp. on our thermometer 18° one morning about a week or ten days ago. Deer hunting season started 3 days ago with not a flake of snow and the day time temps in the 30°s and 40°s, today in the 50°s. The talk about town is that we will have a mild winter - reason - fur bearing animals have not the full amount of hair - muskrats building small houses etc. We shall see.

*W. B. Clark, now deceased, was a full time resident of Lake N from 1943 to 1965, during which time he served terms as Village Clerk and Village Board Trustee. The diary in question was given to the researcher by W. B. Clark's widow, Alice S. Clark, now also deceased.

The winter of 1960 was not excessively mild if the number of days that the lake was ice-bound, as shown in Table 4, taken from Clark's diary recording the opening and closing dates of navigation on Lake N, may be taken as an indication of the length and extent of the summer-winter seasons. During the winter of 1960, for example, the lake was ice-bound for 142 days, only slightly less than the average number of days, 146, that the lake was closed and not at all near the 19 year low of 121 recorded in 1941. Table 4 suggests that the residents of Lake N can expect, on the average, seven months when the lake is not covered with ice and five months when the lake is ice-bound. However, extensive navigation on the lake is limited largely to the time period between Memorial Day and Labor Day rather than being limited by the ice cover.

Lakes, such as the one found in Lake N, are most common in the eastern half of Douglas County and owe their existence to the glaciers of the quaternary period. Most of these lakes are located away from the Lake Superior lowlands which consists largely of a clay plain with some swamp areas and numerous river channels. Moving south of the clay soils of the Lake Superior lowlands, the flat pasture land which supports modest dairying operations, gives way to cutover areas and scattered marginal farms located on increasingly rolling and sandy soils. Along with the increase in tree cover there is an increase in swampy areas covered with marsh grasses. Lake N is separated from the Lake Superior lowlands directly to its north by a stretch of swamp and marsh land and only loosely connected to the marginal farm and dairying area located to the northwest of it because of an intervening semi-swampy cutover area. Lake N is itself quite scenic

Table 4. Days open and days closed by date and year for navigation on Lake N*

Year	Opening date	Open days	Closing date	Closed days
1943			November 13	168
1944	May 1	214	December 1	121
1945	March 31	233	November 19	132
1946	March 31	237	November 23	160
1947	May 2	209	November 27	143
1948	April 19	233	December 8	131
1949	April 18	221	November 25	170
1950	May 14	194	November 24	145
1951	April 18	215	November 19	153
1952	April 21	221	November 28	145
1953	April 22	237	December 15	126
1954	April 20	224	November 30	137
1955	April 16	217	November 19	161
1956	April 28	215	November 29	145
1957	April 24	215	November 25	140
1958	April 14	227	November 27	143
1959	April 19	209	November 14	158
1960	April 20	224	December 1	142
1961	April 22	230	November 28	138
1962	April 25	227	December 8**	
High	May 14	237	November 13	170
Low	March 31	194	December 15	121
Average	April 19	221	November 26	145
		7 months		5 months

*From the diary of W. B. Clark.

**Lake froze over November 28, opened again December 4, froze again December 8.

with its gently rolling hills and extensive tree cover, characteristics which it shares with the region to its east and, to a limited extent, to its south. The territory to the south and southeast of Lake N is, however, made up of sandy soils known as the "Pine Barrens" area, much of which is now replanted, having been burned out in extensive forest fires of several decades ago.

Approximately 81 per cent of Douglas County is tree covered. By far, the most prevalent species of tree found in the county is the Aspen-Birch, which is an acceptable pulpwood. Other common trees are the Swamp Conifers, Jack Pine, White Pine, and Northern Pine. Increasingly, the land that was once actively farmed is being turned back to forest and through the efforts of private landholders, the pulpwood industries, and the county, state, and national levels of government. The increase in public forest land has the effect of creating a hardship for rural farm and rural nonfarm residents because of the increased tax burden it places on them. In addition, the problems of offering public services over already large and sparsely settled areas are compounded.

Lake N is only indirectly involved with public and industrial forest lands in that these lands are largely south and southeast of the incorporated village. Nevertheless, the consolidated school district, of which Lake N is a part, recognizes the impact of conservation purchases on municipal governments and school districts. The Superintendent of Schools for the Common Joint School District Number One has summarized the problems that accrue to municipal governments and school districts in the following four points (84, p. 3).

1) This land is forever removed from the tax base of the school district and municipality.

2) Purchases made by the Conservation Department do not now require that long term indebtedness presently outstanding be paid to the municipality with the obligation before the sale is consummated. This obligation extended for 15-20 years in the future must now be assumed by fewer people owning less desirable property.

3) The creation of a conservation area means that school buses must 'dead end' through the area to pick up the isolated child living beyond the forest area. Transportation costs are thus increased.

4) The municipality deprived of this tax base lacks the means to adequately finance local government. They too, are faced with increasing costs to properly service the ioslated family.

With the acquisition of public forest land in the area of Lake N being increased, Lake N, with its property tax rolls of more than 500 dwellings, is forced to assume more financial responsibility for the support of the school district, although the burden of high taxation is far greater in the municipalities experiencing the greatest loss of land from the tax rolls and into public holdings. Because of the shrinking tax base in the Lake N area, the summer home owner is having to pay more in the way of taxes for the privilege of maintaining a summer home. The tax situation must therefore be seen as a negative factor that stands in opposition to the positive factor of Lake N's scenic beauty.

There appears to be little evidence that the land use patterns of Douglas County are going to change greatly in the next few decades from the trends suggested above. The number of farms in the county decreased between 1959 and 1964, but during the same time period the average size of farms, which remains below 200 acres, and the total land in farms increased.

However, more cropland was neither harvested nor pastured in 1964 than in 1959. With agricultural income not keeping pace with the rising cost of living, more farmers are supplementing their incomes with off-the-farm employment (119).

The mineral resources of Douglas County are still subject to speculation. In the past years there have been several attempts to mine copper but these attempts did not meet with success. Both quicklime and sand-gravel are taken within the county for commercial purposes, thus constituting the most consistent use of minerals in the county. Major changes in the extraction of minerals within the county are highly unlikely.

Farming has declined in Lake N and its immediate area, with only two farms being maintained on a full time basis. In both instances the owner-operators are nearing retirement age and only one of the farms is likely to be passed on to a son who will continue the farming; the other will probably cease to be active after the retirement of the owner-operator. Both of these farms are located in an area that used to be an active farming settlement but is now covered with trees and grass. Two past farms in the vicinity of Lake N have been developed as golf courses in order to capture a portion of the vacation spending.

As indicated in the public opinion questionnaire, 48.6 per cent of the respondents felt that Lake N's economy had suffered from the decline of farming in the area, whereas 37.1 per cent did not feel that the decline of farming had a negative effect on the economy of Lake N, and 12.9 per cent expressed no opinion on the question. (Refer to Table 16). Lake N has never been a farm trade center, thus it would be interpreted that the decline of farming has not been as detrimental to the local economy as if the

local business activity was largely farm oriented. Nevertheless, grocers and other local business men admit that the increase in off-the-farm employment has had its negative implications for Lake N's economy.

The increased demand for sand and gravel relative to road building in the area has resulted in the opening of one new sand pit, bringing the total number of local sand pits to three. Most frequently, however, these sand pits stand idle and at best contribute only slightly to the local economy. Certainly the most valuable natural resource of Lake N is not its minerals but its scenic beauty and its desirability as a location for summer and year around homes. As might be expected, the most desirable lake front locations have already been developed but the most recent pattern is for new owners to remove rustic or makeshift cabins, replacing them with modern homes. The contrast of the old and the new structures around the lake and in the area of population concentration at the north end of the lake is a reminder of Lake N's history and its influence on present developments.

History

A shorthand method of historical presentation is to divide the past into historical periods. The present treatment of the history of Lake N and its surrounding region will follow this historical period approach in terms of three periods: the early period (presettlement and early exploration), the middle period (settlement, growth, and decline), and the recent period (the last 50 years). It is not to be suggested that these three periods are more than a device for arranging and presenting the

history of Lake N and area. The reader should be assured that other periods could have been created for a similar end, for the periods are merely heuristic categories.

Early accounts of northern Wisconsin make reference to bands of Indians, the majority of which were Algonquin speaking Chippewa who were forcing the Sioux westward, coming in contact with the Voyageurs who were the mobile merchants of the upper midwest in the early eighteenth century (40, pp. 1-37; 54, pp. 101-138). As the Voyageurs would move through the lakes and streams with their fur-laden canoes, Chippewa would contact them in order to exchange furs for desired merchandise. The location of Douglas County in relation to the natural waterway of Lake Superior suggests that unrecorded meetings of Voyageurs and Chippewa took place along the shores of the big lake. Establishment of more permanent trading locations further suggests that the natural harbors near the present site of the city of Superior were the most frequent meeting spots for transactions between Voyageurs and Chippewa.

No mention of Lake N is made in the accounts of the Voyageur fur trading era, but it can be assumed that the area around the lake was known to the Chippewa and frequented by them. The name of the lake is a Chippewa word meaning either "color on the water" or "fire hunting in the dark." First mention of Lake N is in relation to the trapping lines that were set by some of the early pioneers to the area (5, pp. 137-140). During the time prior to settlement, Lake N was little more than a reference point for the trappers and hunters. With the beginning of the lumbering era, Lake N and its surrounding area were transformed by immigration and industrial activity that accompanied the tree harvesting of the upper midwest.

The beginning of the middle period is tied to the lumbering boom which was beginning as early as 1850. Superior was first surveyed in 1852, the first house was built in that city two years later, and Douglas County, named after Stephen A. Douglas who was speculating in the area's development, was carved out of La Pointe County in the same year. By 1857, Superior, the county seat, was experiencing a real estate expansion, boasting an estimated 2,500 people. Actually, Superior was made up of three separate towns, whose organization continued until 1861 when their separate organizations were abandoned and the three towns merged, creating a single Superior. No other towns sprang up until 1887 when Lake N and two other towns, one to its southwest and one to its northeast, emerged (134, p. 4).

It was not until 1892 that Lake N growth was assured by the building of the Duluth South Shore and Atlantic Railroad with its right of way located at the north end of the lake through the portion platted by land speculators. The first sawmill was built two years later, and the big lumber boom started in 1898 with the establishment of the Weyerhaeuser Lumber Mill located at the west edge of the platted village on the grounds of what is now the "Boys Camp." During the ten years from 1898 to 1908, Lake N was at its height with a population of 1500, a newspaper called The Enterprise, a bank, a clothing store and a variety of other stores, fifteen saloons, two large hotels, numerous boarding houses and residences. Telephone service and a municipal water system supplying fire hydrants were part of the signs of affluence that accompanied the lumbering boom and during this decade the town could even boast of a small hospital and several physicians (27, p. 2).

Weyerhaeuser was called the "lumber king" and is credited with

receiving the largest transfer of land recorded in Douglas County, 68,913 acres from the Omaha Railroad Company (134, p. 2). To facilitate his logging operations at Lake N, Weyerhaeuser built his own railroad with a turntable to turn the locomotives around on their dead-end run between Lake N and the main tracks located west of Lake N. Most of the lumber processed at the Weyerhaeuser operation was moved out of Lake N by this railroad and then hauled throughout the country by the Omaha Railroad, whereas the smaller Lake N lumber companies used the Duluth South Shore and Atlantic Railroad to haul their lumber.

During the years of Lake N's growth the rest of Douglas County was being caught up in the lumber boom, all to the benefit of the county seat, Superior. Land companies platted an area to the west of the original settlement site and industrially Superior was becoming a transportation center for coal, grain, and iron ore. The iron ore shipping came through Superior from Minnesota's rich Mesaba Range, grain came by rail from the West, and coal was shipped in from the East. Lake N was tied to this bustling new metropolis by rail with numerous freight trains and four passenger trains daily.

Millions of feet of lumber were taken during the lumbering era, stripping Douglas County of its valuable cover of white pine. By 1910 the lumbermen and their mills were moving west of Wisconsin, leaving Douglas County a cutover region open to farmers in search of new land. Development companies promoted the soil of Douglas County as some of the most fertile in the country. Attracted by these extravagant claims, immigrant farmers, many of Scandinavian origin, cleared away the stumps left from the logging activity and started small farming settlements. By contrast

with the booming logging days, however, the farming era was modest and quiet.

The workers' clapboard "shacks", located north of the Duluth South Shore and Atlantic Railroad right of way, disappeared with few traces, but more permanent dwellings remained standing on the south side of the right of way, closer to the lake, as a testament to the Lake N lumbering boom. Some of the families attracted to Lake N during the years of rapid growth stayed in the area to service the needs of the immigrant farmers. One farming settlement, begun during the lumbering era, was located west of the lake and was populated largely with Swedish immigrant farmers. Another farming settlement on the east side of the lake was made up of what the local population called "Swede-Finns." The farming settlement at the west side of the lake was more cohesive, centering around a Swedish Baptist Church, than was the east side farming settlement. Little separate identification is made by the local residents at the present time with the area east of the lake in terms of the original farming settlement; however, the west farming settlement still has characteristics of a sub-community and still is centered around the Swedish Baptist Church.

Slow decline and stabilization characterizes the recent period of community and regional history. Superior flourished with the transportation demands of World War I and World War II but the rest of Douglas County had to rely on marginal farming, aided as it was by the war economy, and on tourist activity. The biggest event for Lake N in the 1920's was the renovation of County Trunk Highways P and B as the "Coolidge Memorial Highway," so named because it was the route taken by President Coolidge when he went between his 1928 summer residence on Cedar Island in the Brule River east

of Lake N and his "summer Whitehouse" in the Superior Central High School. The people of Lake N are said to have lined the highway to watch the President pass and they are reported to have entertained the soldiers that guarded Collidge with a banquet and dance at the end of the season (27, p. 1).

While the Duluth South Shore and Atlantic Railroad was still in service, people from the Duluth-Superior area would visit Lake N for summer and winter recreation. The "pavilion" was a summer dancing attraction and the "ice palace" served as a winter attraction, with a later added winter attraction of a toboggan slide running from the top of the hill near the railroad station to the lake. Not all of Lake N's enterprises associated themselves with entertainment and recreation. There was once a Cheese Factory producing Italian cheese, a bank which remained in operation until 1933, and several wood-related industries continued to operate at a much reduced pace. These and other businesses operated in a declining local and national economy and in the years 1932 through 1934, all but a handful of local businesses were removed from the community through building demolitions, business retirement, company mergers, and business relocations.

The final blows to the local economy came in 1934 and 1939. Lake N's rail connection with Duluth-Superior ended in 1934 with the removal of the Duluth South Shore and Atlantic Railroad tracks. With the closing of the rail link, businesses such as the Standard Oil Company moved their bulk storage facilities to the nearest rail connection located six miles northwest of Lake N. An even more dramatic business loss was suffered in 1939 when eight structures were lost to fire. The fire started in the basement

of a tavern and spread from there, taking a hot dog stand, a cafe, the Odd Fellows Hall, an automobile service garage, a grocery store and warehouse, and a private garage (118, p. 1). Firefighters from Lake N, Superior, and a neighboring CCC camp, were able, with the help of a thunderstorm, to extinguish the blaze before it consumed all of the town's businesses and the new auditorium located across the street from the center of the blaze. Businesses had been lost to fire before but this fire took out an entire block of businesses. Some of the structures were replaced with single story buildings of cement block construction, others were never replaced. With the old bank-post office building torn out recently to make way for a new business, only two of the old two story buildings of the logging era are still standing in Lake N.

Superior continues as a transportation center but grain hauling is increasingly being carried out by rail by-passing Superior. The demand for coal has dropped, resulting in the closing of coal docks, and iron ore shipping has slowed with the closing of the Mesaba Range mines and has become highly automated with the new taconite processing. Little new industry has come into the Superior area to offset the declines in the transportation industries. Major exceptions are a refinery and pipeline connected to Canadian oil fields established in 1951, and a fiberboard plant made possible through ARA (Area Redevelopment Administration) financing. Designated as an "economically depressed area," Superior and Douglas County are found on the fringe of the economic prosperity that the nation has enjoyed up to 1966. A shipyard continues in operation, but its production is minimal when compared with the seventy one ships built at two Superior shipyards during the Second World War. The business contraction of the

shipyard is similar to the business contractions of other long established enterprises. Exceptions to the general business slump are illustrated by the local teachers college and other public portions of the economy.

Recent advancements in automobile transportation have brought a new vigor to Superior's retail business and to the summer activities in vacation communities within Douglas County. Increasingly, Superior is serving as a wholesale-retail trade center with its service area not limited to Douglas County but encompassing much of northwestern Wisconsin. In order to accommodate the increase in trade and tourism, Superior has begun to build new motel facilities and shopping centers. With the first phases of new highway construction connecting Superior with its outlying area already under way, Superior, as a part of the larger Duluth-Superior trade and service complex, will, in time, be able to make some of the necessary economic adjustments required by the changes that have taken place in bulk shipping.

Superior's commercial gain is at the expense of many of the small communities that have served the farmers and vacationers as commercial and activity centers during the last few decades. Some small commercial centers have been able to maintain seasonal activity as vacation centers and others have continued as partial commercial centers serving farm needs for a wide area. The economics of summer activity and its impact on vacation communities, part of the central concern here, is a topic that has been researched to some extent by the University of Wisconsin School of Commerce. Their findings are that the automobile is the main source of transportation to vacation communities. With May through June the primary use months, the average Wisconsin resident cottage owner spent $1,280.54 and the average non-resident cottage owner spent $1,527.02 in connection

with cottage use in 1959 (36, p. 9). Expenditures for an average camping party during the same period ran $79.89 (34, p. 9), while juvenile campers paid rates of from $100 per week at private camps to $16 per week at "tax exempt" camps. Like the cabin owners and the camping parties, the tax exempt camper is transported by car, and to some extent by bus, whereas the private camp participants arrive by rail, an increasingly difficult transportation arrangement for the private camp directors to make because of the discontinuance of passenger service by many major railroads (35, pp. 8-10). The University of Wisconsin School of Commerce research indicates that cottage owners, camping parties, and juvenile campers are big business, and furthermore, as indicated above, that this big business is tied to automobile travel.

Lake N has one private juvenile camp located on the former site of the Weyerhaeuser lumbering operations, one tax exempt camp run by the Superior YMCA, a small but recently improved campground maintained by the village, and a lake shore lined with cottages. The camps, campground, and cottage owners all contribute to the summer activity which centers on and around the lake. After Labor Day the decrease in activity is noticeable but cottage owners and visitors enjoying the "Indian Summer" and the beginning of the hunting season give the community some signs of life. With the coming of the heavy snow and cold temperatures, the community gives the appearance of having gone to sleep with no more than two cars to be found in the business district in the middle of a weekday and many of the private roads leading to cottages blocked by either chains or fences and clogged with snow.

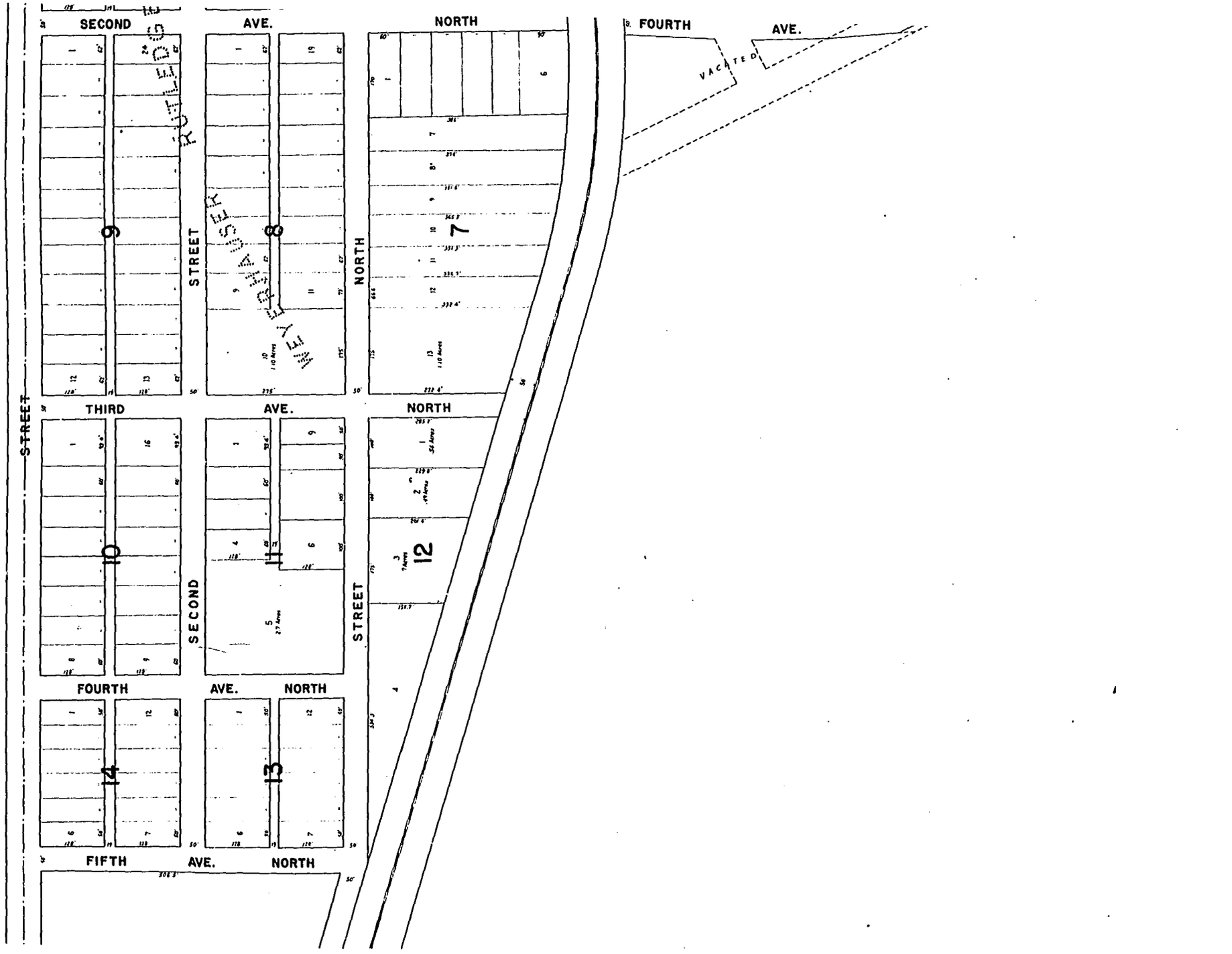
More information on the recent period in Lake N will be contained in

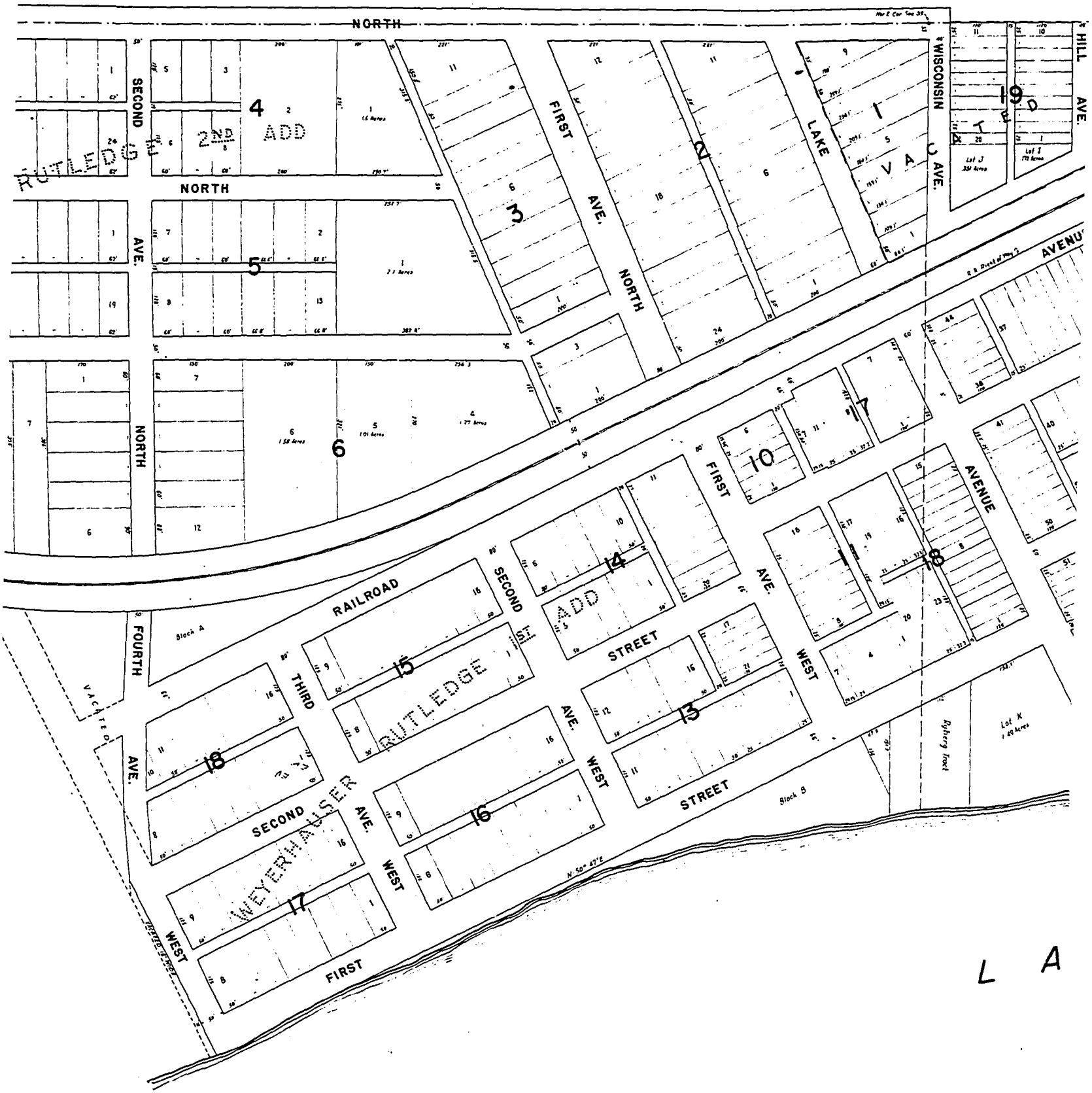
the later description of the community. The historical overview presented above sketches the community and region during its period of early development from the fur trade era through the lumbering era and the farming era to what may be presently called the vacationing era. Lake N did not prosper until the lumbering era and has, since that time, declined. Several predictions concerning the future of Lake N will be made in the description and analysis which follows. It should be pointed out here, however, that the increased interest in and leisure time for vacationing is a promising sign for Lake N's future.

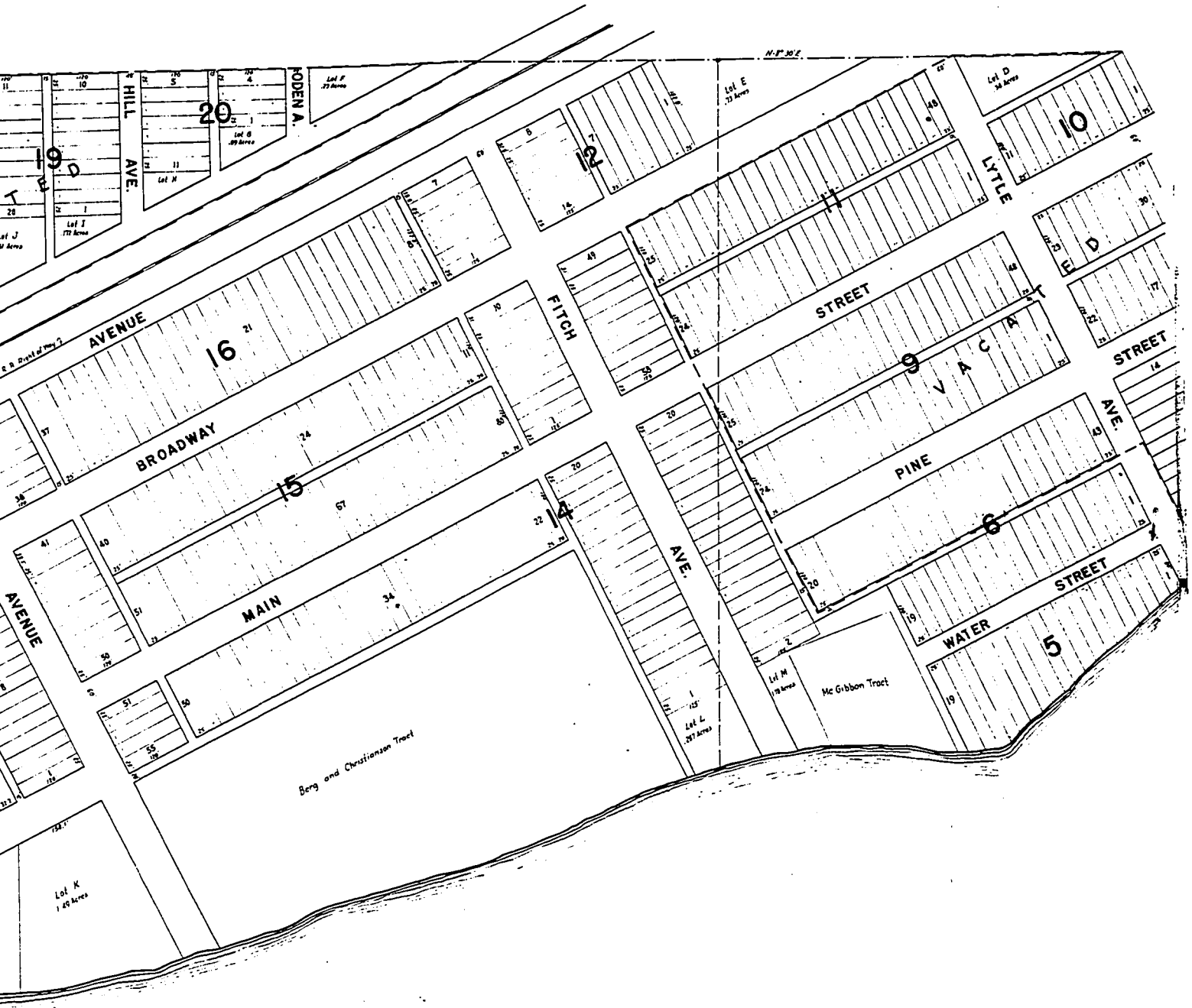
Ecology

As originally platted, Lake N was set out in an irregular pattern of blocks with Lake Avenue running perpendicular to the lake as one of the primary streets and Main Street and Broadway running parallel to the lake but removed from the lake shore by 395 feet and 645 feet respectively as shown in Map 2. It was intended that the platted village should expand for a greater distance to the west of Lake Avenue but the arrangement was altered by the Weyerhaeuser-Rutledge first addition and the Weyerhaeuser-Rutledge second addition. The first addition, south of the railroad near the lake, was the location of the company homes built for the lumber mill management personnel and the second addition, located north of the railroad and away from the lake, was known in the early days as "claptown" and provided space for the workers and their families. Because of the two Weyerhaeuser-Rutledge additions, some of the platted area west of Lake Avenue was never developed and, as a result, was vacated.

Map 2. Platted village as originally platted


SECOND AVE. NORTH
FOURTH AVE.
VACATED
STREET
9
8
7
NORTH
THIRD AVE. NORTH
10
11
12
SECOND STREET
FOURTH AVE. NORTH
14
13
FIFTH AVE. NORTH


NORTH
SECOND AVE.
NORTH
AVE.
NORTH
FIRST AVE. NORTH
WISCONSIN AVE.
LAKE
HILL AVE.
AVENU
FIRST AVE. NORTH
AVENUE
RAILROAD
SECOND ST.
FOURTH AVE.
VACATED
THIRD AVE. WEST
SECOND AVE. WEST
FIRST AVE. WEST
STREET
STREET
Block A
Block B
Rybery Tract
Lot K
1.49 Acres
N. 50° 47' E
L A


HILL AVE.
RODEN A.
LYTLE
STREET
AVENUE
BROADWAY
FITCH
MAIN
PINE
WATER
STREET
AVE.
AVE.
AVENUE
STREET
Berg and Christianson Tract
Mc Gibbon Tract
Lot K
1.49 Acres
Lot M
.78 Acres
Lot L
.267 Acres
Lot E
.73 Acres
Lot D
.14 Acres
Lot F
.73 Acres
Lot G
.89 Acres
Lot I
.772 Acres
Lot J
.91 Acres
Lot N
N 5° 30' E
19
20
16
15
14
12
10
9
6
5

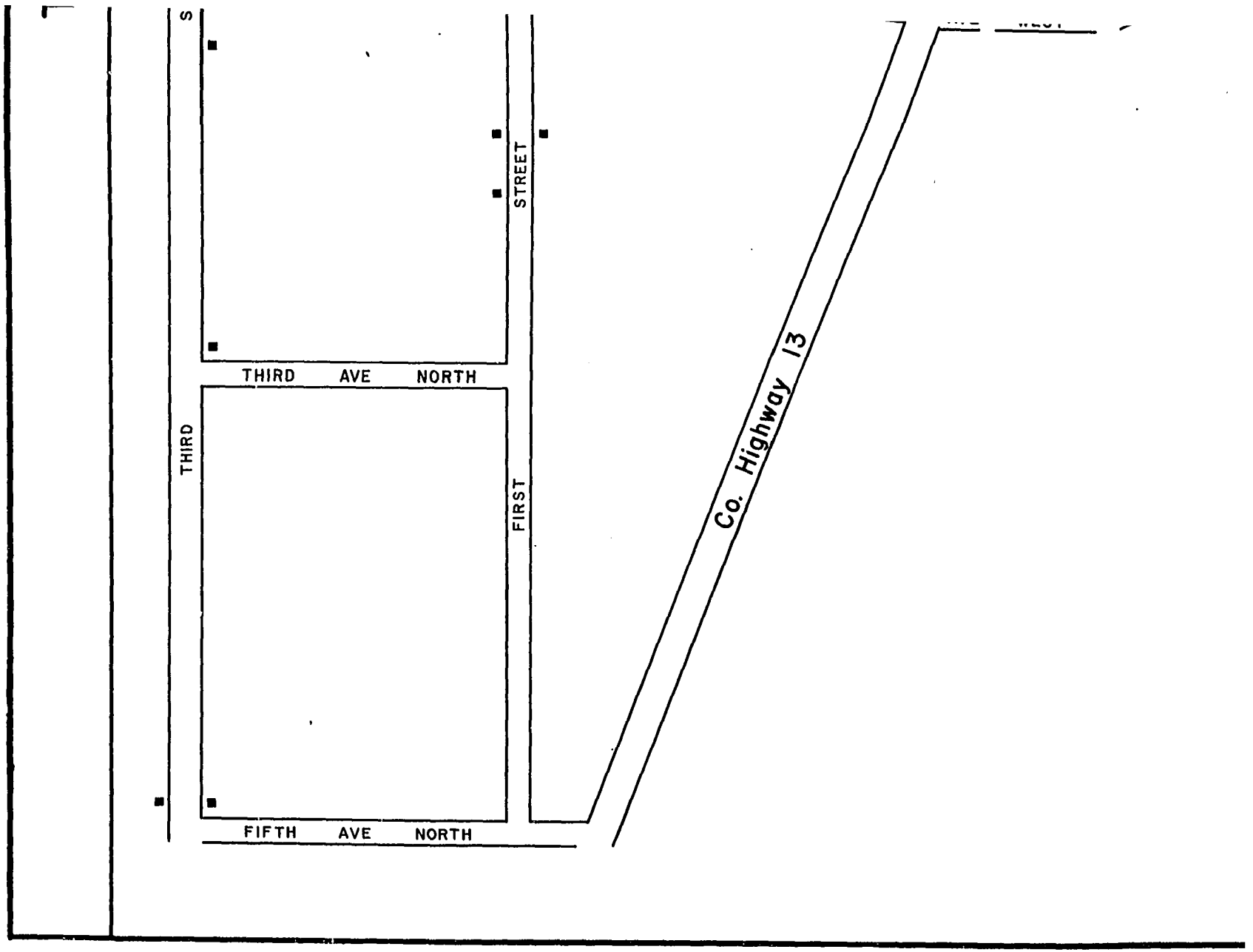
L A K E

Accordingly, the population concentration of the platted village was shifted from the original plan in a westerly direction toward the Weyerhaeuser mill.

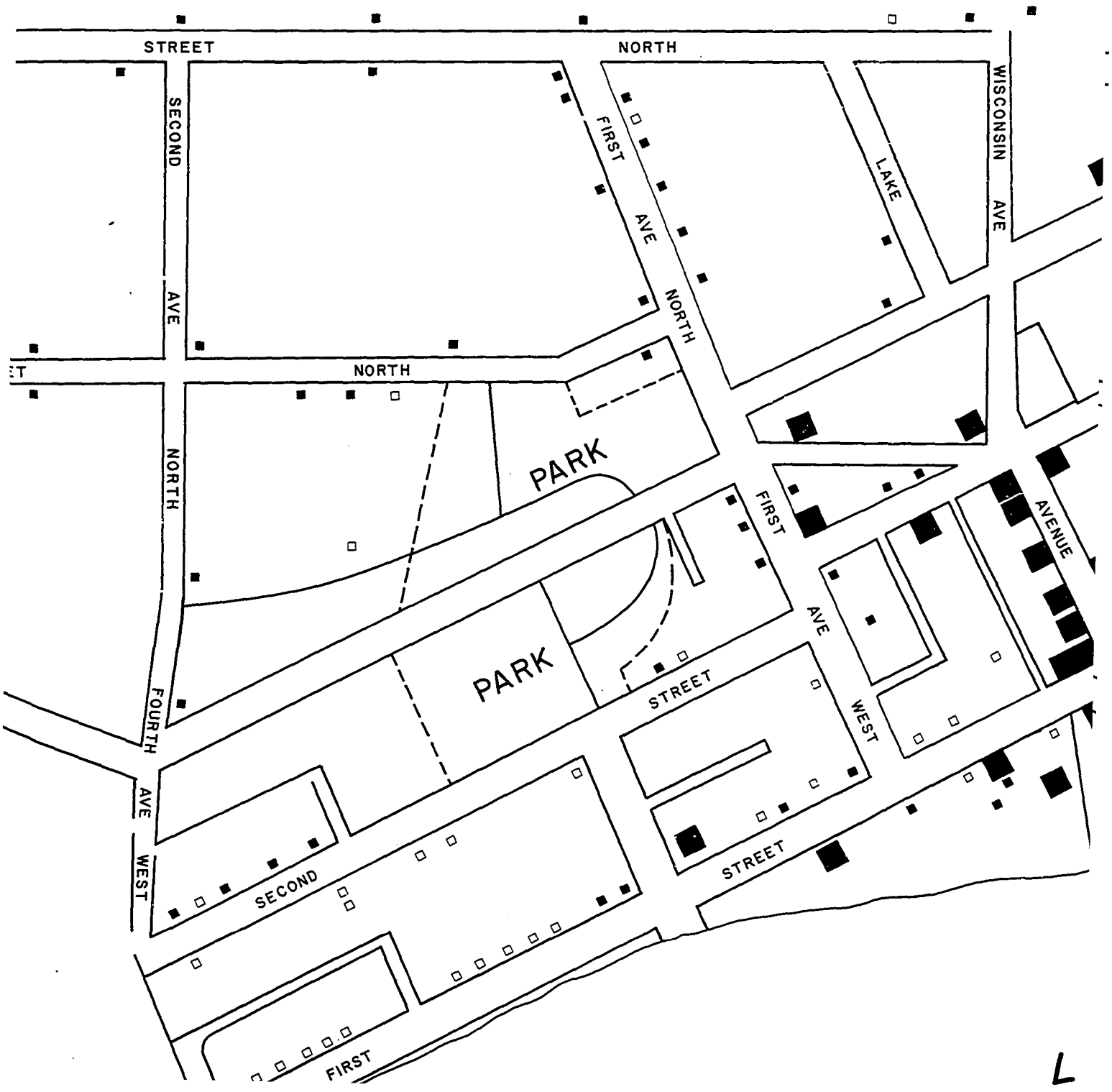
Street arrangement remains similar to the platted pattern except that some streets were never cut through and others, once cut through, were abondoned, as shown in Map 3. The most significant change is County Highway B which runs parallel to the Duluth South Shore and Atlantic Railroad right of way west of the village, travels over Railroad Avenue as far as First Avenue West where it divides two blocks at an angle to Broadway and Lake Avenue and then follows the path of the original Broadway east. Another major change is found in the Berg-Christianson tract located east of Lake Avenue on the waterfront where there has been considerable cottage development. In the area of the second Weyerhaeuser-Rutledge addition, none of the alleys was cut through and Second Street North has gone into disuse. Much of the recent building has taken place north of the old railroad right of way because this area is relatively free of the older dwellings which populate the area toward the lake within the platted village. One noticeable exception to this is found on Main Street where some newer homes have been built and, of course, there are scattered newer homes throughout the community.

Most of the commercial buildings are located on the west side of Lake Avenue. From north to south these businesses are: 1) a gas station, 2) a grocery store, 3) a "drug" store (the grocery store #2 and "drug" store #3 are the last of the two story buildings from the logging era on Lake Avenue), 4) a grocery store, 5) a tavern, 6) the post office, and 7) a gas station. With the exception of the post office and the gas

Map 3. Platted village 1966-1967

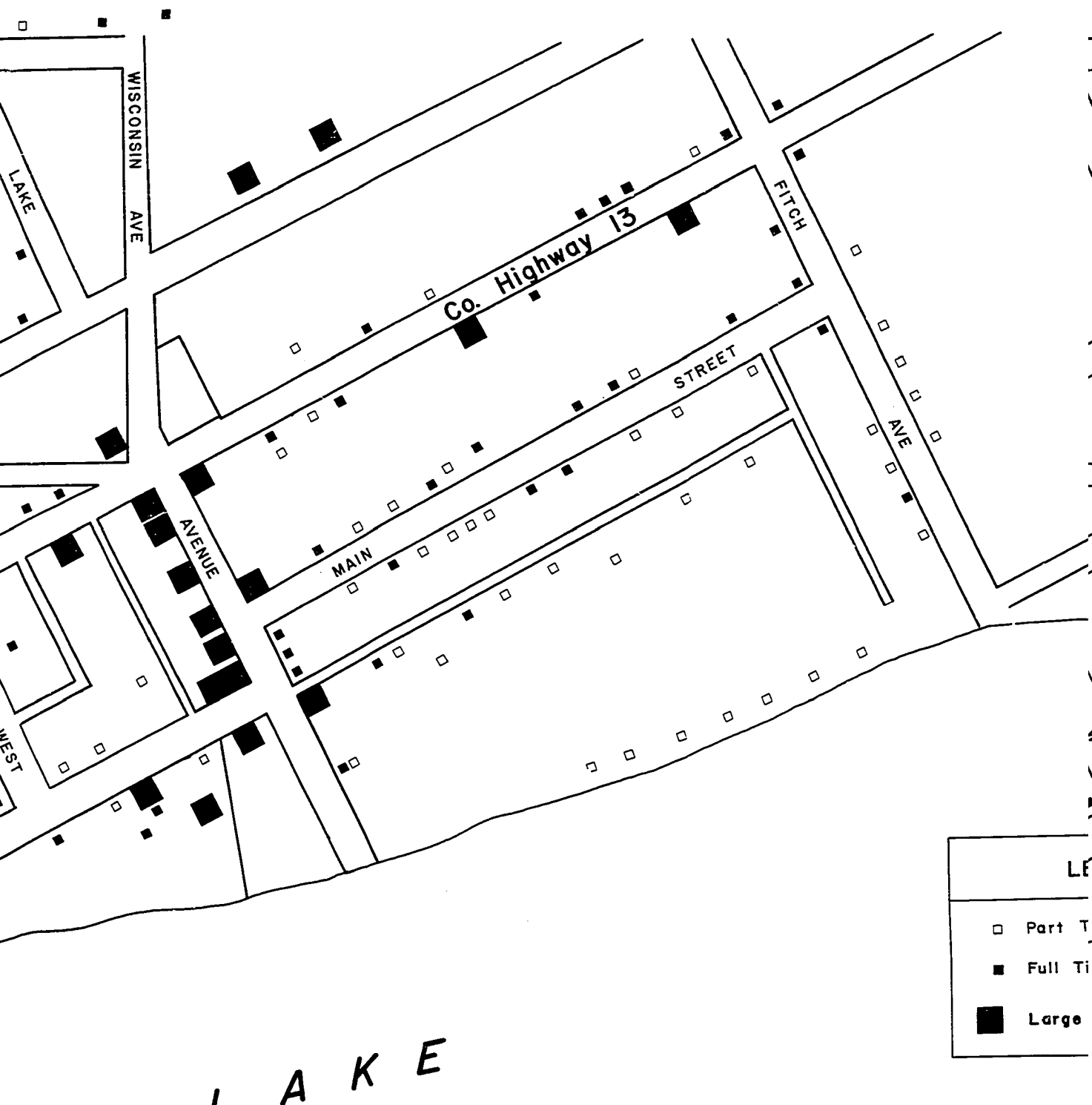

S
STREET
THIRD AVE NORTH
THIRD
FIRST
Co. Highway 13
FIFTH AVE NORTH

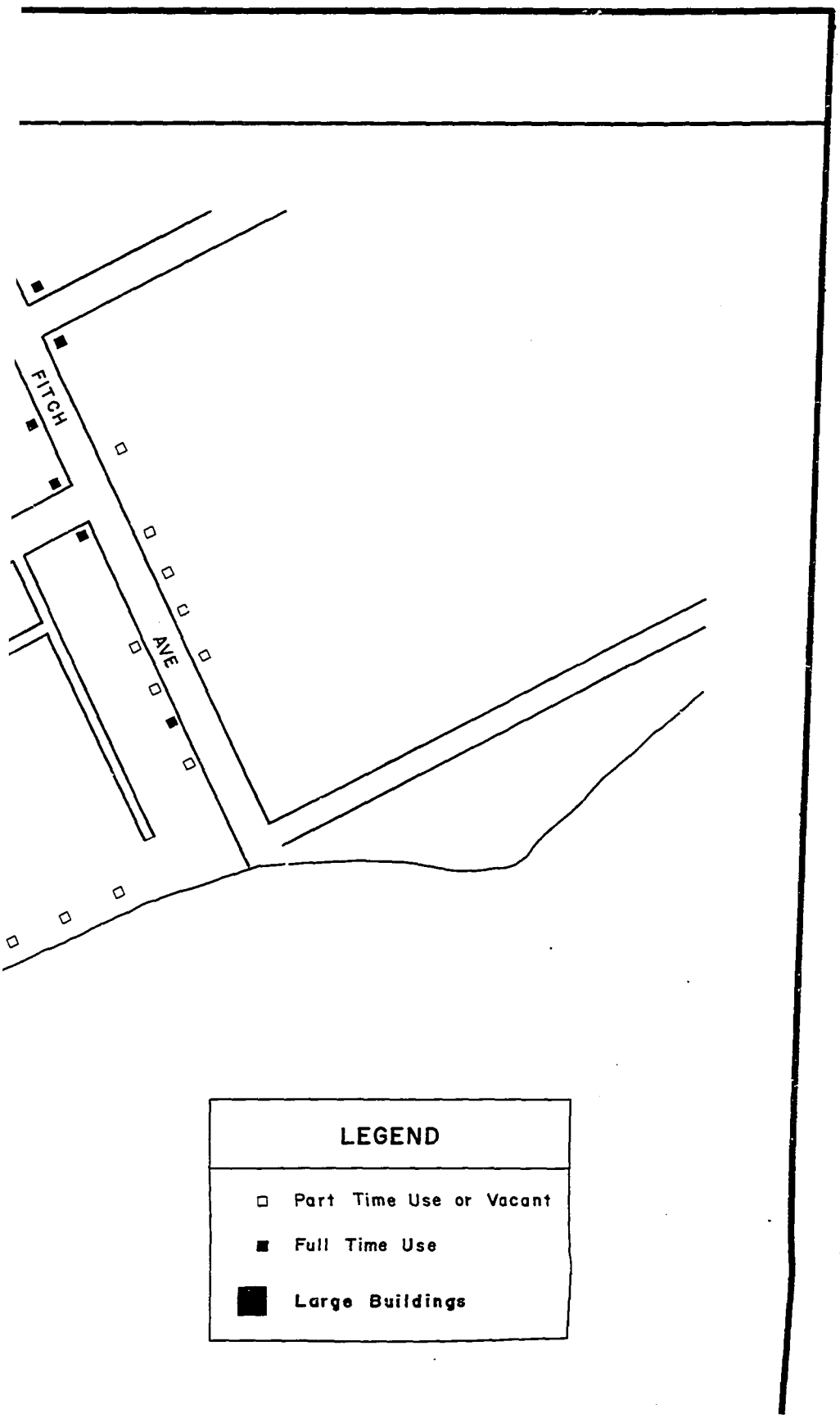
THE PLATTED VILLAGE OF LAKE

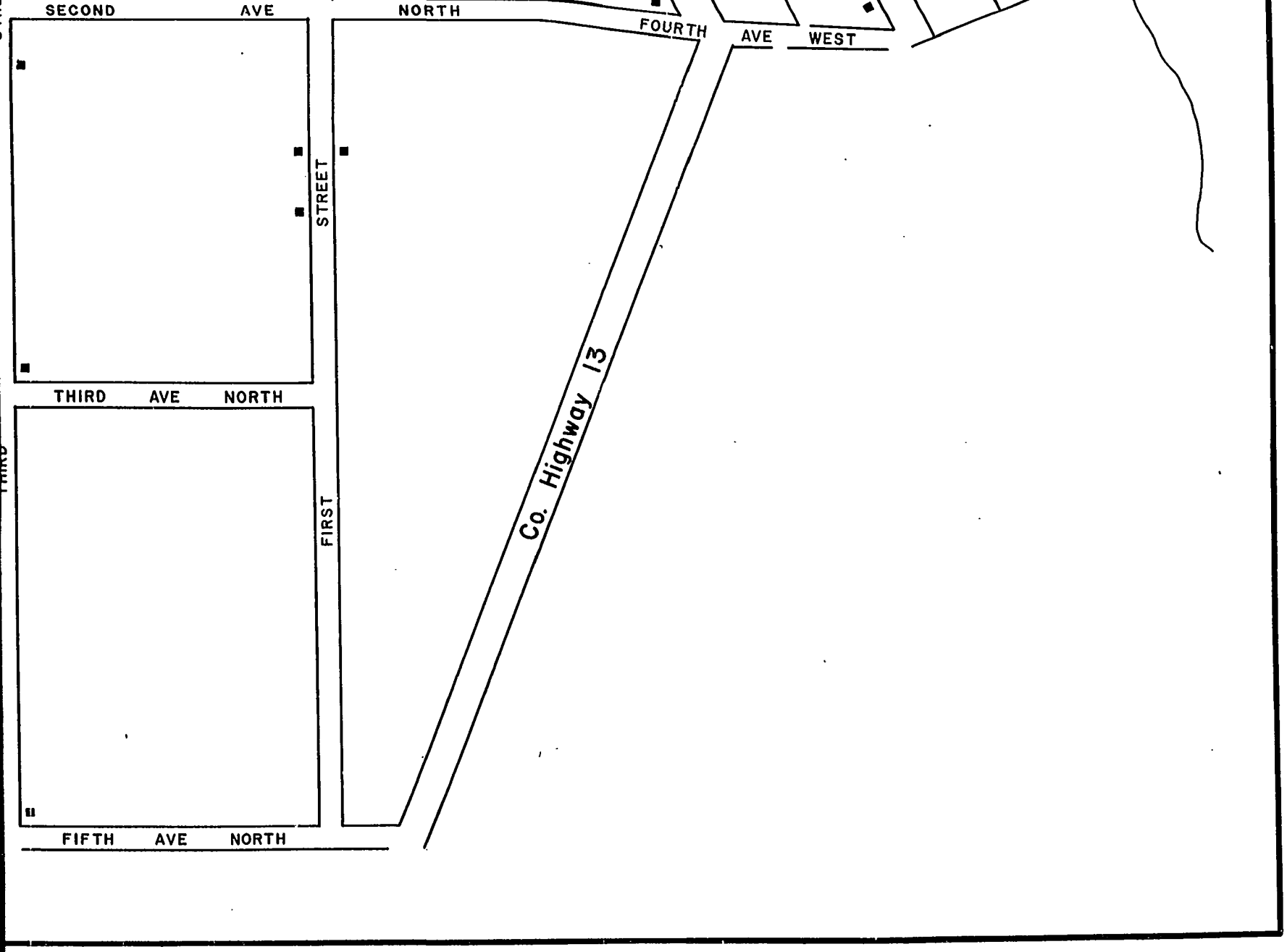


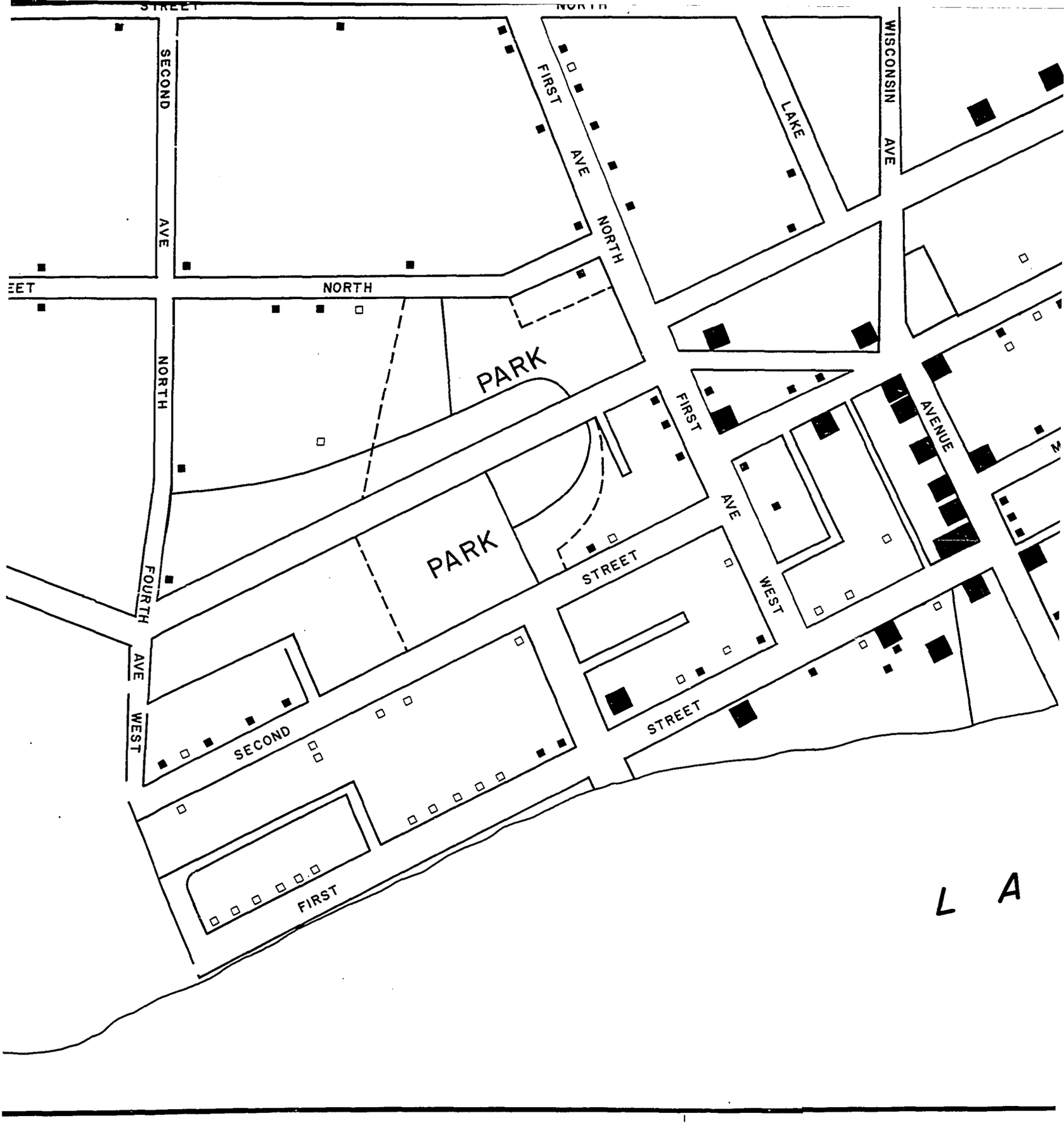
L

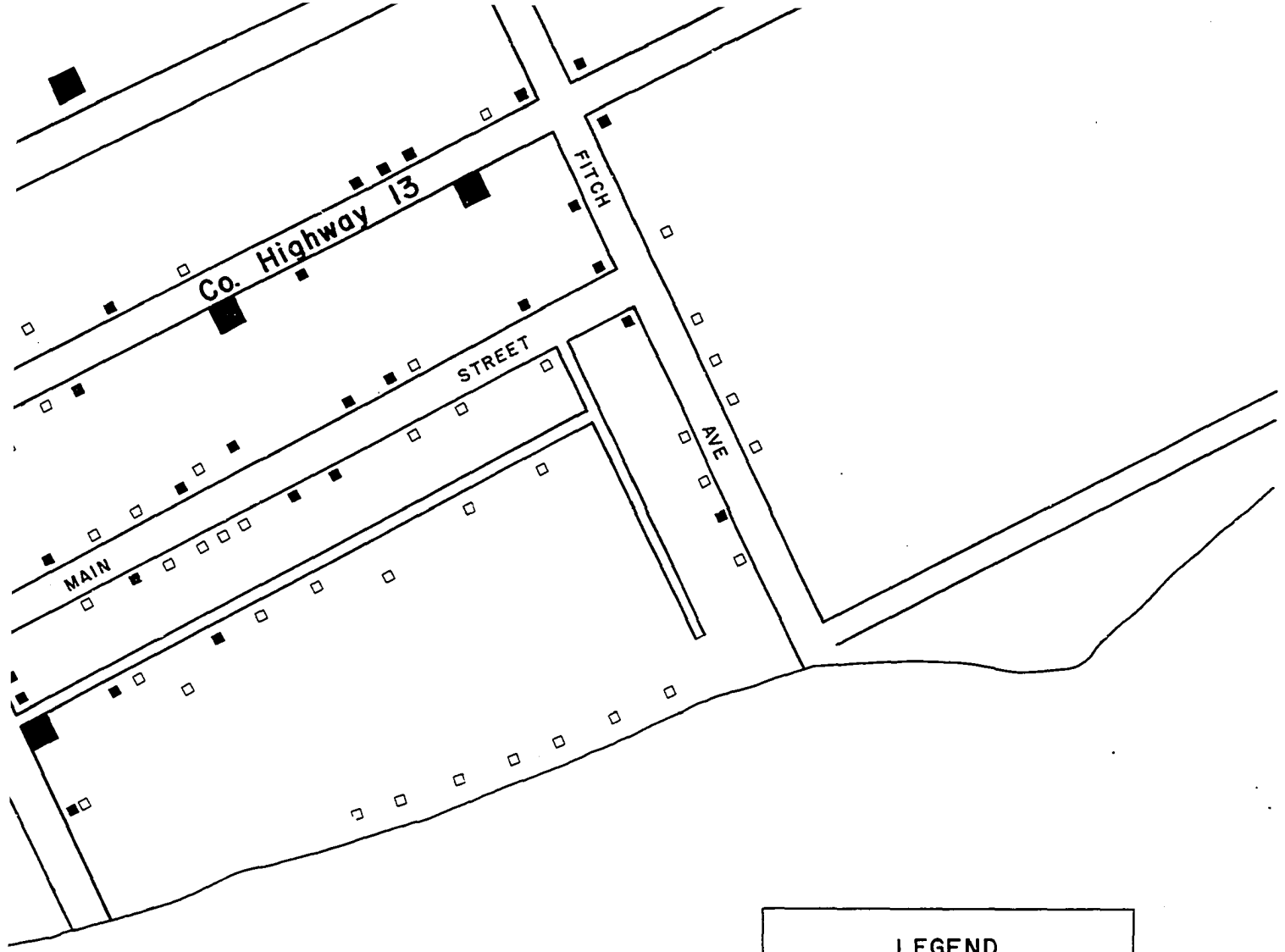
F LAKE N, 1966-67




FITCH
AVE
LEGEND
Part Time Use or Vacant
Full Time Use
Large Buildings


SECOND AVE
NORTH
FOURTH AVE WEST
STREET
THIRD AVE NORTH
FIRST
Co. Highway 13
FIFTH AVE NORTH


SECOND AVE
FIRST AVE
NORTH
LAKE
WISCONSIN AVE
NORTH
PARK
NORTH
FIRST
AVENUE
PARK
FOURTH AVE WEST
STREET
WEST
SECOND
STREET
FIRST



LEGEND

- Part Time Use or Vacant
- Full Time Use
- Large Buildings

A K E

Scale

0 50 100 200 300 400

feet

N

station at the southern end of the avenue, the business buildings are not connected or situated close together, with 25 foot spaces separating the grocery stores from the "drug" store.

Four commercial structures stand on the east side of Lake Avenue. They are from north to south: 1) a hardware store at the south corner of County Highway B, 2) the old bank turned post office turned warehouse was located on the north corner of Main Street but during the course of the study it was removed to make way for a small coffee shop-gift shop-grocery store that was built after the field work was completed, 3) a Dairy Queen stand on the south corner of the Berg-Christianson tract, and 4) a beauty shop located in the back of a home about 100 feet below the Dairy Queen stand. Other commerical establishments located on the lower side of First Street South between Lake and First Avenue West are from east to west, 1) a hot dog stand, 2) an inn, and 3) a tavern.

A laundromat located in part of the old cheese factory and a cabinet shop and machine shop located in a neighboring building are situated north of the old railroad right-of-way and just east of Lake Avenue. A marina on the waterfront off First Street South, summer rental cabins located in the Berg-Christianson tract, and a beauty shop in a home on the north side of Third Street North between First Avenue and Second Avenue West constitute the businesses in the platted portion of the village. A restaurant on County Highway B west of the platted village, a golf course on County Highway P southwest of the platted village, rental cabins on County Highway B east of the platted village, a contracting firm and a developing golf course on County Highway S southeast of the village comprise the balance of Lake N's businesses.

The three public buildings are all of recent origin and are a source of village pride. Located at the southwest corner of Lake Avenue and First Street South, the auditorium is a multi-purpose building used for a wide range of activities. Completed prior to the 1934 fire, the Auditorium originally consisted of a dance and meeting floor with a stage, a coat room, and storage areas. In 1964 a $36,090 remodeling project was undertaken, with half of the cost being underwritten by the Federal Accelerated Public Works Program, placing a walkout basement under the existing structure which added an assembly room, a kitchen, two public dressing rooms, two public rest rooms, and a small meeting room to the older facility (118, Oct. 17, 1963, p. 16). Throughout the year the Auditorium receives extensive use and one of the main considerations of Chapter Seven will be related to the question of who has access to the Auditorium for what purpose.

Built in 1939 of concrete block construction, the Lake N School replaced the old school which was built in 1899. Since 1949 the Lake N School has been a part of the Common Joint School District Number One and presently enrolls approximately 100 pupils in grades one through eight. Consisting of four classrooms and a gymnasium, the school is so constructed that it provides limited opportunities for expansion but it has the asset of a picturesque location on the upper corner of First Street South and Second Avenue West with an unobstructed view of the lake (104, p. 16).

Located on Broadway west of Lake Avenue is the village garage-fire hall with a police office and justice court attached. The garage houses the village truck and other road maintenance equipment, a fire truck operated by the volunteer fire department, and an ambulance also operated on

a volunteer basis. More will be said about this equipment and its use, but it should be noted that the location of the equipment is near County Highway B and that the equipment is housed in a well-maintained cement block structure. Attached to the west end of the garage structure is the police office and justice court which consists of a single room with folding chairs arranged in meeting room fashion facing a large wooden desk. As will be clear from the later discussion, the police office and justice court receive most of their use on Saturday night during the summer.

Lake N has three churches within the platted village and one church located on County Highway P southwest of the platted village. The Swedish Baptist Church, located on County Highway P, has served the sub-community surrounding it and the immediate area for seventy-three years. Now housed in a modern building of modest size, it is the only church in Lake N with a full-time minister. Recently remodeled, the Lake N Presbyterian Church is situated on the upper corner of First Avenue West and Broadway. The Presbyterian Church shares its minister with two other neighboring communities. Both the Lutheran Church and the Roman Catholic Church are found on the south side of County Highway B east of Lake Avenue with the Lutheran Church just east of the Roman Catholic Church. The Lutheran Church is part of a two church pastorial charge with the minister residing in the community where the other church is located, and the Roman Catholic Church is served by the Superior Roman Catholic Diocese. Of the three churches in the platted village, none have resident ministers.

Map 3 indicates the houses within the platted village that are used on a part time basis or are unoccupied as well as those that are in full time use. It should be evident from this distinction that the change in

seasons has a considerable effect on changing the neighborhood composition and further that the neighborhood changes are more pronounced in some segments of the platted village than in others. A similar situation holds for the lakeshore homes where, with several exceptions, there is an even greater seasonal out-migration. Part of the research problem dealing with socio-cultural integration will be approached from an ecological perspective relative to propinquity and neighboring.

As previously suggested, Lake N is highly dependent, both as a vacation center and as a residential center, on automobile transportation. Lake N has, in one way, a considerable highway advantage, and in another way it is disadvantaged relative to highway access. Connected to U.S. highways by County Highways P, F, and B, Lake N is not difficult to reach but it does suffer from not being on a state or U.S. highway. County Highway P serves as a main access route in northwest direction to Duluth-Superior via a U.S. highway; County Highway B connects Lake N with a north-south U.S. highway located west of the lake and with the east-west U.S. highway one and a half miles north of Lake N by way of a long eastern route; and County Highway F goes directly north to the same highway with a one half mile jog adding a short distance to the route. Both the east and west incorporated boundaries of Lake N are partly concurrent with County Highway routes S and P respectively.

Well endowed with County Highways, Lake N residents would like to have a state highway routed through the platted village. The north-south state highway which Lake N residents would like to have rerouted is two miles east of County Highway S which marks the eastern boundary of the incorporated village. In reaction to the public opinion questionnaire

statement, "I would like to see State Highway 27 routed through Lake N," 60 per cent agreed, 30 per cent disagreed, and 8.6 per cent expressed no opinion (refer to Table 25). The rerouting would mean the improvement of the present County Highways B and P that constitute the Coolidge Memorial Highway but it would not involve any inconvenience to the traveler; actually, it would shorten the state highway distance to Duluth-Superior. The State Highway Department seems reluctant to make this highway change because it would mean a greater maintenance distance for the state in that the state highway now terminates at the U.S. highway four miles northeast of the County Highway B-State Highway 27 junction. It is the reluctance of the State Highway Commission to alter the route of State Highway 27 that Lake N residents consider as a disadvantage, for many would-be vacationers unintentionally by-pass the recreational activities available at Lake N and Lake N residents are deprived of the improved roadway that a state highway would bring.

Within the incorporated village most roads are paved and well maintained. During the periods of heavy snowfall most traveled roads are quickly cleared and arrangements for driveway plowing by the village are possible. A regular program of road care supervised by the road and bridge committee of the village board is considered to be successful by many residents in that the excellent roads that result add both to the appearance of the village and permit ready access to most homes.

Apart from road travel, Lake N has the advantage of boat travel during the summer months. It is not uncommon to see a cottage owner arrive in the platted village by boat to pick up supplies. In order to facilitate boating as a mode of transportation, the village has erected a boat dock at

Lake Avenue on the waterfront and a public launching area where Second Avenue West meets the waterfront. The Second Avenue West waterfront area is just one block directly below the village park located both north and south of County Highway B and the Lake Avenue dock is just east of the public bathing beach below the Auditorium. Another small but little-used park situated north of County Highway B on the east side of Lake Avenue has little connection with boating activity and it would appear that its non-association with boating, in part, accounts for its infrequent use.

Recently a new form of transportation-recreation, the snowmobile, has grown in popularity in Lake N and the surrounding area. During the winter months snowmobile tracks are evident on the lake and around the countryside. In severe snow conditions when a resident is unable to use the roads he may use his snowmobile to transport him so that he may get supplies and other times, when snow is evident but not a problem, snowmobiles may be used for a variety of recreational and utilitarian reasons. A snowmobile club, the "Trailblasters," has evening outings including both husbands and wives, where they meet snowmobilers from surrounding villages for the enjoyment of snowmobiling together in caravans. Without a doubt, the snowmobile has revolutionized both travel and recreational patterns for some Lake N residents.

Some areas are restricted to public access, giving rise to a situation that is made difficult by snowmobiling and boating activity. One such area is the Boys Camp in the area south of County Highway B and west of the Weyerhaeuser-Rutledge addition. On 59.6 acres of what was formerly the Weyerhaeuser estate and lumber mill, the camp is "off limits" to the residents of Lake N and community visitors unless they have specific

business there. The camp maintains a full-time resident caretaker and two to three grounds men who enforce the "no access" rule during the winter months in order to prevent vandalism. While the camp is in use during the summer months, visitors are not freely permitted because it would be disruptive for the camp operations; however, a camp open-house is held for the village from time to time.

Apart from the Boys Camp, the YMCA Camp on the south end of the lake and the privately owned waterfrontages around the lake are restricted relative to general access. As might be expected, problems arise when the lake is public and the shoreline is private. Once a party sets off in his boat from either the public areas in the platted village or from a private frontage he has no legitimate access to the shore unless he returns to the public areas or to his private frontage. With this limitation for a 997 acre meandering lake, there is a high probability of shoreline infractions. These infractions are likely to increase with the advent of the snowmobile and the use of snowmobiles on the frozen lake.

As already suggested, traffic and communication patterns change by season in Lake N. The most evident example of the seasonal traffic and communication changes are found with the arrival and departure of cottage owners and occasional vacationing visitors to the lake. Because of the decrease in population density with the exodus of the summer population, communication patterns change such that during the winter months a person's nearest neighbor may be either a block or a mile away whereas during the summer the nearest neighbor may be right next door or within shouting distance. The pace of life quickens with the increase in population density and recreation-related activities so that full time residents find that

there seems to be more to do and a greater variety of people to do things with. With more people engaging in a greater variety of activities, the flow of traffic throughout Lake N is greater in the summer than in the winter.

Although some traffic and communications are seasonal, others remain relatively constant with only allowance for seasonal adjustments. Certain voluntary associations have their meetings both winter and summer, those residents of Lake N who work in Duluth-Superior continue their commuting both winter and summer, and full time residents who are either close friends or kinsmen continue their interaction both winter and summer. Even with some patterns continuing, however, the decrease in population density and recreational activities has the effect of slowing the pace of life in Lake N. The full time residents enjoy the stimulation of the summer but also look forward to the more leisurely winter season during which they can turn their activities to the watching of wild life, working on a neglected hobby, and participating in some of the voluntary associations that are inactive during the summer months.

Population density has a considerable impact on Lake N's social structure. What are the other demographic factors that characterize Lake N? The composition of the population, vital statistics, and in-and-out migration for Lake N and the area will be discussed below under the heading "demography."

Demography

In studying the changing age structure of Wisconsin's population, G. Fuguitt concludes that:

1) "Wisconsin, in common with the United States, is experiencing a marked increase in the number and proportion of both children and older people."

2) "Rural population segments of the state have a larger young and old population relative to people of working years, than the urban segments."

3) "Both rural and urban segments tend to have fewer young adults and more old people in areas without large cities or areas outside of rapidly urbanizing regions" (39, pp. 47-49).

Between 1950 and 1960 Douglas County experienced a gain in the age groupings 0 to 15 and 65 and over of 7.2 per cent and 17.1 per cent respectively, while suffering a loss of 11.6 per cent in the population grouping age 15 to 65. The counties east and south of Douglas County shared the loss of population in the 15 to 65 year old grouping and the gain, in some instances less and others greater, in the population 65 years old and over, but of the northeastern counties only Douglas County had a gain in the population grouping 15 years old and under (39).

In 1950, the population of Douglas County was 46,715, but by 1960 it had dropped to 45,008, a loss of 3.7 per cent. During the same time period, Superior had a 5 per cent decline in population from 35,325 to 33,563. Lake N had a slight increase during the same period from 340 in 1950 to 346 in 1960. Differences between Lake N and Douglas County are also found in the population grouping 14 years old and under with Lake N having 24.9 per cent in this category in contrast to the county's 30.0 per cent. In

the population grouping 65 years old and over, Lake N had 20.1 per cent and the county had 12.1 per cent. The distribution of population by age and sex and marital status of persons 14 years old and over for Lake N is summarized in Table 5 (122).

Greater depth of understanding of Lake N's population may be obtained by considering sketches of the following age and marital status groupings: 1) young adults, couples from 18 to 40 years of age, 2) adults, couples from 41 to 64 years of age, 3) senior adults, couples 65 years of age and over, and 4) widowed and divorced persons at any age. Each of these groupings is elaborated in terms of the house to house census information obtained during the field work. Selection of households portrayed in the demographic sketches is guided by the researcher's appraisal of "typical" population characteristics as indicated by examination of results from the house to house census schedules. It is the purpose of the sketches to increase "acquaintance knowledge" of representative households within the community. The demographic patterns suggested by the sketches are, therefore, to be assumed by the reader to be prevalent in Lake N.

The sketches by age and marital status groupings serve to elaborate the information contained in Table 5 by giving a selective rather than a random portrayal of Lake N residents. These sketches are representative of Lake N's population as observed during the course of the field work and, as such, the researcher's observational "impressions" are included as a part of the selective data presentation. It should be noted as well that much of the information contained in the demographic sketches exceeds the bounds of narrowly defined demographic concerns. Accordingly, further discussion of some of the characteristics of the several groupings will be

Table 5. Age by sex for Lake N and marital status of persons 14 years old and over for Lake N (1960)

Age by sex for Lake N

Age	-5		5 - 14		15 - 24		25 - 34		35 - 44		45 - 54		55 - 64		65+		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Sex																		
Male	18	5.2	33	9.5	17	4.9	12	3.4	14	4.0	19	5.5	26	7.5	40	11.6	179	51.7
Female	9	2.6	26	7.5	16	4.6	14	4.0	16	4.6	24	6.9	29	8.4	33	9.5	167	48.2
Total	27	7.8	59	17.0	33	9.5	26	7.5	30	8.6	43	12.4	55	15.8	73	21.1	346	99.9

Marital status of persons 14 years old and over for Lake N

Marital status	Single		Married		Widowed/Divorced		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Sex								
Male	29	10.9	90	34.0	12	4.5	131	49.4
Female	22	8.3	90	34.0	22	8.3	134	50.6
Total	51	19.2	180	68.0	34	12.8	265	100.0

postponed until a later chapter.

Young adult Dorothy Stenberg* is nineteen years old and her husband, Fred, is four years older. She is from a village in the vicinity of Lake N and her husband grew up in Lake N. The Stenbergs have one child, a son less than one year old, and Dorothy spends her time caring for the baby and taking care of the house. Fred is a construction worker and his work often requires that he remain away from home for much of the week. Because of the sporadic fluctuations in the demands for construction workers, Fred is intermittently counted among the unemployed, during which time he finds himself odd jobs around the village. The Stenbergs rent their house and have been living in it for one year.

Robert and Agnes Lindquist have lived in Lake N less than five years, they are buying their home, and until recently both worked in Superior. Agnes, age 25, is now a mother, with a youngster under one year of age, and so she occupies herself with child care, homemaking activities, and friends. Robert is employed in law enforcement and safety work in Superior and his workday is somewhat irregular. When he finds time, Robert works with the Boy Scouts, youth baseball, and engages in other civic work. Both Robert and Agnes are originally from Superior but Robert moved to Lake N and purchased their home several years before he and Agnes were married.

Newlyweds Ron and Ann Flynn have a new trailer home situated in a pine grove in the north central platted village. Ron, age 23, grew up in another community neighboring Lake N but Ann, age 22, has lived in Lake N all of her life. Both Ron and Ann work in Superior, he as an apprentice in a skilled trade and she is a secretary. When Ron is not working around

*All names in the demographic sketches are pseudonyms.

the trailer, he enjoys outdoor activities, especially hunting and fishing. Ann spends much of her leisure time with family, church activites, and bowling.

Presently in the process of completing the contruction of their new home Walter and Kate Karjala have recently returned to Lake N after living in Superior. Walter, age 30 is a construction worker and commutes daily to Duluth-Superior. Kate takes care of their year old son and four year old daughter and enjoys working around the house, sewing, and being active in the Lutheran Church Women's Association. Walter is presently occupied with the house building, but finds time to visit with relatives.

Living in a ranch style house less than five years old with their four boys ages 9, 8, 7, and 4, Pete and Ruth Holm had trouble finding adequate housing when they moved to Lake N. Pete, age 32, had grown up in Lake N but Ruth was used to a larger town. Working in his family's pulping business, Pete is somewhat apologetic about pulping and feels that locally it is low prestige work. Ruth spends time with civic activity relating to her boys, such as Cub Scouts and PTA. Apart from swimming, engaged in by Ruth and the boys, the entire family enjoys watching the color television that dominates their living room.

Ed and Diane Beyer and two young children, a two year old boy and a one year old girl, are working on remodeling an older home. Ed, a 37 year old employee of the state conservation department, is doing most of the remodeling work himself with the help of Diane, age 33. Ed commutes to work at the state conservation office located east of Lake N, a somewhat unusual commuting pattern for Lake N residents. Several reasons attracted Ed and Diane to Lake N—they could not find a house to buy in the other

communities near his work place and Ed felt that Lake N did not have the negative sentiments about conservation employees, a sentiment that was perceived to be present in some of the communities east of Lake N.

Adult Residents of Lake N for over twenty years, Bernice and George Andersen, ages 43 and 47, live with four sons, ages 19 to 5, in a large frame two story house located in the first Weyerhaeuser-Rutledge addition. George, who has always lived in the Lake N area, works for the Douglas County Highway Department and has from time to time held various village offices. On occasion, Bernice helps cottage owners in the village with their cleaning and similar tasks but she does not have any regular employment. The three older Andersen boys are in their teens and spend their leisure time hunting and fishing while the younger boy will, no doubt, take up similar leisure time pursuits because of the influence of his older brothers and the ideal hunting-fishing area in which he lives.

Seven years ago, before retiring from a military career life, Cliff and Jan Negarrd and their two children bought a cottage and some land in Lake N. The cottage had fallen into disrepair but with a considerable amount of work the Negarrds were able to remodel the cottage making it into a permanent home. Much of their work was lost, however, when their home was partly destroyed by fire. After the fire, the Negarrds might have sold out and left Lake N for their native southern Wisconsin if it had not been for the community's quick response to the Negarrd's plight. Lake N residents came not only with kindness but with materials for rebuilding the damaged structure and skill to do the work. Now retired from the military, Cliff, age 48, drives to Superior for his present employment as a driver-salesman for a beverage firm and the Negarrd's daughter is now living and

working in Duluth, having graduated from the local consolidated high school. The Negarrd's high school age son is active in Boy Scouts and has a local paper route. While Jan, age 42, prefers to read and pursue her hobbies at home, Cliff is active in the Community Association and also serves as village justice. All of the Negarrds are active in the Lutheran Church.

Erick and Karen Ahlgren, ages 53 and 51, are natives of Lake N although they recently left their home town and lived in Milwaukee for several years only to return again to Lake N. Karen teaches in a Superior high school and Erick works for the state as a mechanic. The Ahlgrens have three sons, the oldest a student at the teacher's college in Superior, while the two younger boys attend the Lake N school. Erick is an avid outdoorsman and has a record of intermittent involvement with the Community Association. Karen is seldom active in community affairs. The Ahlgrens have lived in their present two story frame house for nine years.

Coming to Lake N ten years ago, Albert and Martha Whitman live near the Boys Camp where Albert is the caretaker. The Whitman's three daughters, ages 16, 14, and 3, and their involvement in the Lutheran Church, are the main activities in the Whitman's lives. In order to further his oldest daughter's talent for music, Albert drives her to Superior for weekly music lessons. By the demands of his job and by inclination, Albert, 53, is a "jack of all trades" and occupies his time with mechanical affairs rather than community affairs. Martha, age 44, like her husband, refrains from community involvement unless it is done for the children. The Whitmans have no deep ties in Lake N other than employment and church ties.

Howard Norbert, age 54, has been the owner-operator of one of the

village gas stations and garages for over twenty years. He and his wife, Alma, age 50, and his wife's elderly aunt leave Lake N and reside in Superior during the most severe winter months to spare Alma the task of driving over the icy roads to Superior where she teaches school. Howard is a strong booster of Lake N but feels that many of the decisions that will effect Lake N's prosperity and growth are not made in Lake N. Nevertheless, Howard is an active member of the village board and is well liked in the community for his cheerfulness. Alma is not tied to Lake N in the same way as her husband in that her job and other activities connect her more closely with Superior. The Norbergs live most of the year in a remodeled older home not far from Howard's business.

Residing for three years in a newly constructed lakeside home, Edith and Don Booth have been seasonal residents of Lake N for over thirty years, and before Edith was married she lived in Lake N. Don has one year left before he can retire from the Superior Fire Department and, at 54 years of age, is looking for some local business in which to invest. Edith, age 56, finds it lonely now that the three Booth children have grown, although the youngest son still lives at home while attending the teacher's college in Superior. Edith's desire to have children around the house had prompted her to provide a home for a 10 year old girl in foster care. The Booth's married daughter and her husband and children have a summer cottage about one half block from the Booth home where they spend their summers. Both Edith and Don Booth are becoming involved in civic affairs and both are active in the Presbyterian Church.

Senior adult Former residents of Chicago, Faye and Charles Huffman came to Lake N six years ago to visit friends who had retired there.

Finding Lake N attractive for retirement, the Huffmans began to look for a house to buy and ended their search by buying their host's house. Faye, at 66 years of age, is active in the Presbyterian Church, the Community Association, and helps with the firemen's ball and local elections. Charles age, 78, is not as active as his wife but does serve as a church elder and enjoys doing small favors for friends. The Huffmans dislike the cold winters but find that the pleasant summers are adequate compensation for the winter inconveniences. After six years, however, the Huffman's primary ties through family and friends, are still to Chicago.

Moving to Lake N from Superior eight years ago, Dwaine and Muriel Newton occupy themselves with their hobbies and visiting with friends. Dwaine is 67 years old, one year older than his wife, and declares that he is 100 per cent retired. As such, he fishes when he wants to, pursues his wood working hobby when he feels so inclined, and is intermittently active in the Community Association. Because Muriel's hobbies of sewing and knitting fit in with the shared interests of the members of the Homemaker's Club she participates in that club and attends occasional coffee parties with some of its members. Both of the Newtons are members of the Presbyterian Church and are active in its affairs.

Gunnar Bijold has lived in Lake N all of his 76 years and his wife, Mary, age 72, has been a Lake N resident for the last 65 years. For the 53 years that the Bijolds have been married, they have lived in the same small two story frame house and it was here that they raised their five children all of whom have left Lake N. Gunnar works for the village part time as a custodian for the Auditorium and spends much of the rest of his time talking with friends at one of the two local taverns. Mary is active

in the Presbyterian Ladies Aid and enjoys visiting with friends at occasional coffee parties. Neither of the Bijolds are involved in civic affairs except by employment or for social reasons.

Past owner-operator of the now closed Lake N Ford Agency, Evald Vorberg, age 69, and his wife Inga, age 68, were both raised southwest of the platted village in the Swedish farming sub-community. Evald, apart from his past business interests, has been a rural mail carrier and a farmer. Inga describes herself as a housewife and for the past thirty years has taken care of the home within the platted village. Apart from household activities, Inga is a member of the Garden Club, enjoys visiting friends, and most important, is active in church work at the Swedish Baptist Church. The same high priority church concern holds true for Evald, although he also enjoys hunting, speculating on cars, and working with machinery. Of the Vorberg's two sons, one lives in Lake N with his wife and children and the other teaches in a church mission school in Africa. Because of the recent closing of the Ford agency, which required the Vorberg son who lives in Lake N to secure employment in Superior, the Vorbergs are sensitive to the continued business decline in Lake N.

Kirk and Lydia Kessel are lifelong residents of Lake N and are among its most properous townspeople. Past operator of the Standard Oil bulk delivery service, Kirk at age 70 still is active with land and house speculation, working as the village assessor, and operating the Lake N laundromat. Lydia, age 64, is active in the Garden Club, belongs to several bridge groups, and spends a large portion of her time with family. Of the three Kessel children, two reside in Lake N with their families. In addition to their children, Kirk has two sisters and a brother and Lydia has a

brother-in-law residing in Lake N. The Standard Oil bulk delivery service, now run by the Kessel's son-in-law, and the Kessel's visiting patterns indicate the importance of kinship obligations in their lives.

Past Superior businessman, Kerwin Edstrom, age 63, and his wife Cornina, also age 63, have lived in Lake N for twelve years. Kerwin's main interests are his involvement in civic affairs and his part time business of selling advertising items such as pencils and calendars. As village clerk, Kerwin finds reason to call on many people throughout the community with the usual effect of confusion for those contacted. The confusion often results from Kerwin's rapid switching of status-roles from Village Clerk to secretary of the Volunteer Fire Department to secretary of the Community Association. As a result of his interchanging status-roles so quickly, Kerwin is a controversial figure about town. Cornina is much less of a public figure than her husband but she is active in the Homemaker's Club and enjoys visiting with friends.

Widowed persons Violet Kane's parents bought property in Lake N in 1902 when Violet was 12 years old. Throughout most of her life Violet has spent her summers at "the lake" and when she married, while in her fifties, after working in Duluth-Superior as a businesswoman, Violet and her husband settled in Lake N. Since the death of her husband ten years ago, Violet has lived in Lake N during the spring, summer, and fall seasons. The winter, from December to May, she spends in California and is presently thinking of selling her two frame houses and several lots in Lake N and moving west permanently.

Eighty-one year old Hjalmer Paulson has lived in Lake N for ten years. A widower, Hjalmer moved to Lake N because two of his five children are

permanent residents of the community and the other three spend their holidays in the community. Most of Hjalmer's time is spent gardening and making knickknacks. Apart from family ties, he is not closely tied to community activities.

Following the death of her husband, Arlene Nelson and her youngest son came to Lake N where they had owned property for twenty years. Having lived in Lake N when she was a girl, Arlene felt that the community was a good place in which to raise her high school age son. At age 54, Arlene is active in the Garden Club, the Homemaker's Club, and works as a local reporter for the Superior paper. To a certain extent, Arlene feels a dissatisfaction with Lake N because of the lack of recreational opportunities for people in her age category in the widow status. However, she does not want to return to Duluth where she formerly lived and where her older son still lives.

Sophie Olson came to Lake N with her husband fifteen years ago after her husband became ill. Now a widow, Sophie, at age 74, visits with friends in the community and enjoys going to Superior whenever she has the opportunity. Except for the last fifteen years, Sophie lived in Superior and her attachment there is far greater than it is to Lake N. For several reasons, economic considerations being important among them, Sophie is content to remain in Lake N where she owns a pleasant little bungalow.

Demographic summary

Occupationally, Lake N's population is characterized by laboring jobs, although there are a few professionals present in the population with

female teachers being the most common. With several exceptions, Lake N's workforce is employed in Duluth-Superior because Lake N offers few employment opportunities. The high dependency ratio and the high per cent of employed persons commuting out of the community for their employment suggests a community type that has the mixed characteristics of a retirement community and a working class "bedroom community."

There is a general in-migration trend that is related to past residence by either spouse within Lake N. Other less pronounced in-migration trends are tied to past cottage ownership and to the retirement attraction of the scenic lake and surrounding area. The pattern of leaving Lake N and residing in another locale for a short time and then returning to Lake N is also repeated by several families.

Seasonal in-migration is only indirectly associated with the permanent in-migration patterns. During the summer months, Lake N's population swells from approximately 350 people to an estimated 4,000 people. Many seasonal residents are from the Duluth-Superior area thereby making the seasonal in-migration pattern unstable with families spending part of a week at their cottage and part of a week at their city home.

The seasonal in-migration is, of course, followed by an out-migration at the end of the vacation season. To what extent the seasonal out-migration patterns affect the permanent out-migration patterns is difficut to determine. There is a high out-migration of local youth because of the lack of employment opportunities in Lake N and its immediate area and it is only probable to speculate about the influence of contact with more affluent summer residents as a "push" factor in this out-migration. With some recent improvement in the economic climate of northwestern Wisconsin,

there has been a reduction in the area and Lake N out-migration of young adults (89).

A propensity of Scandinavian names appear in the demographic sketches to convey their actual frequency of this ethnic grouping in Lake N. Table 6 shows the place of nativity (Lake N, United States, Foreign) by year of death for full time and part time or former residents of Lake N as reported in the Superior Evening Telegram 1946-1966. Foreign nativity is not uncommon among Lake N residents with Sweden and Norway being the most common countries of birth as shown in Table 7.

Having 20.1 per cent of its population age 65 years and over, Lake N is, relative to its size, over represented in the regional obituary column. On the other hand, Lake N's under representation of married persons in the child bearing years results in its proportionately low local birth rate. Lake N residents are, however, beginning to talk about a local "baby boom" because of the recent increase in births which may be partly related to the recent reduction in the out-migration of young adults. Although no accurate local birth rate figures could be obtained, it is certain that the six babies born during the research year 1966-1967 was greater than any similar period in the previous decade. Optimistic Lake N residents point to the "baby boom" as a positive sign for Lake N's future growth, but two of the young adult families responsible for part of the increase in Lake N births sold their homes and left Lake N before the research was completed.

As suggested earlier in the chapter, much of what has been covered in the discussions of geography, history, ecology, and demography will provide the substance out of which the collective portrait of the

Table 6. Place of nativity by year of death of full time and part time (and former) residents of Lake N as reported in the Superior Evening Telegram, 1946-1966

Full time residents

Year of death	Lake N		United States		Foreign		Not reported		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1946	0	-	4	2.6	3	1.9	2	1.3	9	5.8
1947	1	.6	3	1.9	1	.6	0	-	5	3.2
1948	0	-	0	-	1	.6	2	1.3	3	1.9
1949	0	-	3	1.9	3	1.9	1	.6	7	4.5
1950	0	-	2	1.3	5	3.2	0	-	7	4.5
1951	3	1.9	4	2.6	2	1.3	2	1.3	11	7.1
1952	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
1953	0	-	1	.6	4	2.6	3	1.9	8	5.2
1954	0	-	5	3.2	3	1.9	3	1.9	11	7.1
1955	1	.6	0	-	4	2.6	3	1.9	8	5.2
1956	0	-	2	1.3	0	-	1	.6	3	1.9
1957	0	-	3	1.9	1	.6	1	.6	5	3.2
1958	0	-	7	4.5	2	1.3	2	1.3	11	7.1
1959	0	-	2	1.3	1	.6	0	-	3	1.9
1960	0	-	2	1.3	1	.6	4	2.6	7	4.5
1961	0	-	4	2.6	0	-	2	1.3	6	3.9
1962	1	.6	2	1.3	0	-	3	1.9	6	3.9

Table 6. (Continued)

Full time residents

Year of death	Lake N		United States		Foreign		Not reported		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1963	1	.6	4	2.6	1	.6	5	3.2	11	7.1
1964	0	-	5	3.2	1	.6	1	.6	7	4.5
1965	1	.6	3	1.9	2	1.3	1	.6	7	4.5
1966	0	-	1	.6	2	1.3	1	.6	4	2.6
Part time and former residents										
1946	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
1947	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	.6	1	.6
1948	0	-	0	-	1	.6	0	-	1	.6
1949	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	.6	1	.6
1950	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
1951	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	.6	1	.6
1952	0	-	1	.6	1	.6	1	.6	3	1.9
1953	0	-	1	.6	1	.6	0	-	2	1.3
1954	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
1955	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
1956	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-

Table 6. (Continued)

Part time and former residents

Year of death	Lake N		United States		Foreign		Not reported		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1957	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
1958	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	.6	1	.6
1959	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
1960	1	.6	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	.6
1961	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
1962	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
1963	0	-	1	.6	1	.6	0	-	2	1.3
1964	0	-	1	.6	1	.6	0	-	2	1.3
1965	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
1966	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	.6	1	.6
TOTAL	9	5.8	61	39.3	42	27.0	43	27.7	155	99.6

Table 7. Country of birth of deceased Lake N residents by years of death as reported in the Superior Evening Telegram, 1946-1966

Year of death	Country of birth
1946	Canada, Czechoslovakia, England
1947	Canada
1948	Finland, Sweden
1949	Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Norway
1950	Norway, 4 Sweden
1951	Norway, Sweden
1952	Norway
1953	Canada, Finland, Norway, 2 Sweden
1954	Germany, 2 Norway
1955	Holland, Hungary, Norway, Rumania
1956	none
1957	Germany
1958	Canada, Norway
1959	Sweden
1960	Sweden
1961	none
1962	none
1963	Norway, Sweden
1964	Finland, Italy
1965	Germany, Holland
1966	Czechoslovakia, Norway

The five most frequently mentioned countries and number of times mentioned: Canada 4, Czechoslovakia 3, Germany 3, Norway 11, Sweden 11.

community as a sample may be put together. Accordingly, the next chapters will build on the present chapter in creating a social system understanding of Lake N. The summary and implications of the contents of the present chapter will, therefore, be found in the next chapters.

CHAPTER SIX: STRUCTURE AND PROCESS OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Durkheim's "sociologism," Simmel's "formalism," Radcliffe-Brown's "social systems thinking," and Parsons' elaboration of social system theory in terms of the system of action all recommend that attention be given to objective characteristics of social systems as well as to subjective characteristics, both of which underlie and emerge from social systems. The description of the social system of the community of Lake N has as its purpose the presentation of the subjective and objective system characteristics in order to convey a complete portrait of the community. To accomplish this community portrait in terms of the structure and process of social relationships, six community subsystem types are to be examined. In order of presentation, these six subsystem types are: 1) family, 2) casual interaction, a possible partial subsystem type, 3) voluntary associations, 4) formal associations, 5) economic enterprises and, 6) decision making bodies.

After presenting the structure and process of social relationships relative to each subsystem type, the subsystem types will be considered in combination in order to show the social system of Lake N as a totality rather than as a composite of parts. With the subsystem types and social system clearly set out it will be feasible to undertake a meaningful presentation of the public opinion questionnaire responses. The chapter will then conclude with a consideration of the public opinion questionnaire responses to the total structure and process of the community social system.

Family

The demographic sketches contained in the last chapter provide a point of reference for discussing the family in structure and process within Lake N. Maintaining the same four categories of young adults, (age 18-40), adults, (age 41-64), senior adults, (age 65 and over), and widowed-divorced, the present discussion will deal with the family as a subsystem type within the community. That is to say that the family will be treated as a part in relation to the whole, the subsystem in relation to the social system, and as a part in relation to itself, the internal structure and process of the family as a subsystem. External relations of the family subsystem will consider stratification, wealth, occupation, nativity, and religious affiliation. Internal relations will concentrate on kinship ties, norms, and status-roles.

Within Lake N the young adult family is the subject of considerable attention and interest on the part of the larger community. In the situation where adults and senior adults are numerically prevalent, the young adult family is viewed as something of a novelty because of the young ages of the household heads, the presence of young children in the family, and the occasional innovative behavior displayed by the young adults. Many men and women in their thirties are thought of as children by the senior adults. These "children" are, in many ways, denied full participation in community affairs and are expected to serve a time-service "apprenticeship" by way of which the advantages of full community participation will be granted to those of forty or more years who have been active in their positions of limited responsibility. Maturity, one of the prerequisites of

full community participation, is a characteristic assigned to age more than an attribute of action such that a young adult is fulfilling a role expectation if he is immature. For example, when a young adult male makes a circle spin in his car on the icy winter streets, his behavior is accepted as being consistent with the lack of maturity of young adults. A young adult female dressed in tight stretch pants running down the street to a neighbor's house without a coat in the late fall will be talked about by some of the "local ladies" but excused because young adults are thought to have license for temporary indiscretions.

Along with the permissiveness granted young adults there is a noticeable admiration for the vitality of youth, a vitality that is quite distant in the lives of many of the Lake N residents. Children also contribute to the special position awarded young adult families as illustrated by the special attention given to young children and their parents at public gatherings such as the community picnic and the many family events that are held at the Auditorium. Older men and women, of grandparent or near grandparent status, appear to take great pleasure in viewing babies, talking to young children, and speaking to young adults about their own children and grandchildren. In a similar fashion, the young adults are drawn together by the children so that mothers, fathers, and children often congregate in one portion of the meeting place.

Although there are different strata in Lake N as indicated by residents in their comments and behavior, age seems to play a greater part in stratifying the population than does wealth, prestige, or power. The young adults of Lake N lack considerable wealth, social power which is, with rare exceptions, reserved for adults and senior adults, and prestige status

is, with the exception of age, most often achieved rather than ascribed. Because of these similarities, young adult families are likely to share more traits than they have differences, thereby heightening the stratifying effect of age and increasing the cohesiveness of young adult families.

Innovative behavior is more characteristic of young adults than it is of the older residents. The snowmobile craze is an example of innovation by the young adult families. Although it would seem that most young adult families could ill afford the cost of a snowmobile, they seem to find the means to purchase a snowmobile which then serves as the primary source of winter recreation activity. The activity of riding a noisy machine over the countryside is acceptable in terms of the permissiveness granted young adults and in time the activity has the effect of attracting the interest of some of the adult residents. Young adult innovation is, however, limited to a large extent by the exclusion of young adults from community decision making. More will be said about the restriction of young adult innovation in the discussion of social power found in the next chapter.

Occupationally, the young adults of Lake N occupy laboring, clerical, and skilled trade jobs. Income limitations commensurate with these occupational categories and the limited range of occupations has the effect of increasing the homogenity of the young adult families of Lake N. Furthermore, the ethnic group divisions which may have some significance for some of the older residents are not especially meaningful to the young adults, as strong ethnic identification is not evident in young adults as shown by the decreased interest in maintaining a language other than English as part of an ethnic heritage. Although some young adults can speak

Finnish, Swedish, or other languages central to their ethnic backgrounds, few maintain the practice of regularly speaking the second language in their homes as do either their parents or grandparents. In the system of stratification within Lake N, occupation, income, and ethnic groupings do not stratify young adult families, but instead they serve to bind them together. Religious affiliation does, however, have the effect of segmenting the young adult families within the community.

Both church membership and church non-membership have the effect of structuring interpersonal and interfamily relationships. The young adult familes with religious ties to the Swedish Baptist Church work together on church activities and have more in common with the adults and senior adults within the church than with those in the larger community. Because of the cohesiveness of the Swedish Baptist congregation, it may be categorized as a highly salient subsystem for those who are affiliated with it (86). Young families in the Lutheran Church have the opportunity to work on church committees and by way of committee activity tend to interact more frequently with each other within the community social system than they do with non-members of the Lutheran Church. The Presbyterian Church has few young adult families and therefore does not have the impact on structuring social relationships between young adults that the Baptist and the Lutheran Churches have. Like the Lutheran Church, the Roman Catholic Church has numerous activities and committees which involve its young adults, but like the Presbyterian Church it is experiencing a reduction in the number of young adults in its congregation.

Those young adult families who are not affiliated with any church or any of the churches in Lake N are, or course, exempt from the young adult

"in groups" that emerge from church involvement. As church non-members, they constitute more of a grouping than a group, however, because their church non-membership status does not promote the development of social relationships among them. Of the young adults who are church members, the Baptists are the most cohesive, the Lutherans moderately cohesive, the Roman Catholics somewhat cohesive, and the Presbyterians the least cohesive. The cohesiveness of young adults in each of the four churches is influenced both by the number of young adult families within each church and the opportunity-demand for church involvement by each church.

Many of the young adults in Lake N have kinship ties either with families in the Lake N community or with families in the immediate area. Moving from consideration of the young adult nuclear family it is possible to view the family as an extended web of kinship ties. To the public opinion questionnaire statement, "Most of the people in Lake N have relatives in either the community or the surrounding area," there was a 78.6 per cent agreement, a 2.9 per cent disagreement, and a 17.1 per cent of no opinion response. Evidence in support of the prevalence of kinship networks is available from the Lake N obituaries appearing in the Superior Evening Telegram, 1946-1966. As might be expected, these kinship networks are related to church affiliations such that a single kin group is part of the congregation of the same church. Accordingly, the church benefits from the solidarity of the kin group and the kin group is reinforced by the common church activity.

Although the family as a large kin group is an important integrating factor in Lake N, the nuclear family is the unit of primary importance. Young adults with extended kinship ties within the community must, in fact,

work to maintain the semi-autonomy of their nuclear family units in the face of the possible overwhelming linkages of kin group obligations. In the young adult family, the male is characteristically dominant with responsibilities for being the major breadwinner and the guardian of the home. The status-role of the head of the household is taken seriously by most young adult males but the status-role of "outdoorsman" frequently takes precedence and is encouraged by kinship and friendship ties. Young adult males plan their family obligations in terms of their hunting and fishing activities so that activities like home repair are seldom undertaken during deer hunting season or the opening of fishing season. Hunting and fishing are participated in by males in combination in friendship and kin groups, and it is not uncommon to find young adult females and families denied the presence of young adult male members for short seasons when the "outdoorsman" status-role has top priority.

Young adult females are active in the status-role as "mother" and "wife" and tend to accept, with reservations, the dominant status-role of their husbands. The dominant status-role of the young adult male is subject to question more by the young adult female than it is by adult and senior adult females. However, the fishing-hunting activity, the housebuilder capability, and the general community definition that the male should be dominant secures the young adult male's dominance within the family. Although submissive behavior is demanded of the young adult female, her status-role is that of "modern woman" with a range of interests and the freedom for developing the interests. In the home, the young adult female demands and gets modern conveniences that free her from tedious household tasks. With her free time she pursues hobbies and visits friends, frequently

combining these pursuits in voluntary associations related to her children. As such, the status-role that the young adult female is defining for herself appears to be modeled after the "suburban homemaker" image portrayed in women's magazines and on television.

Pre-school children experience something of a combination local and mass society socialization. The small town and rural woodland social environment is combined with the Duluth-Superior experience which accompanies shopping trips and visits for medical and dental care. In addition to the Duluth-Superior experiences, pre-school children are exposed to national television programs directed at young children and are thereby exposed to ideas and behaviors beyond the immediate community and locality. As the pre-schooler reaches school age, (the Lake N school begins at the first grade), his status-role and socialization experiences become more specific locally.* The grade school age youngster attends the Lake N elementary school located in the platted village. With school attendance, there is an emergence of a new identity source which centers around the school and is supplemented by youth oriented voluntary associations and friendship patterns. Because of the new status-role which emerges as the product of school attendance, the grade school youngster has what may be interpreted as the highest level of community identification equal to, but different from the community identification of senior adults who have been long time community residents.

While the pre-school and school age youngsters in grades one through eight have their status-roles formed within the community and the family-community, the senior high school age youth are exposed to a wider range

*The term "local" is used descriptively rather than analytically in this discussion.

of non-community interpersonal relationships because of their attendance at the consolidated high school located in a community several miles north of Lake N. The consolidated high school serves twelve municipalities, including Lake N, thereby bridging the boundaries of these separate communities and creating an area identification for those in high school. As the consolidated high school has been in operation since 1949, the area identification may be manifest both in Lake N young adults who attended the consolidated high school during its early years of operation, and in their children who are presently enrolled there. With the consolidated high school come status-roles which are beyond the Lake N community and the family of origin. Dating, sports, and musical activities draw high school age youth out of Lake N; however, the boys tend to maintain stronger ties with the community than do the girls. These stronger community ties may be, in part, attributed to the sports, recreation, and outdoor activities provided for boys within Lake N while no similar array of activities is available for girls. The exceptions to this statement are the church groups and the teen club which began during the 1966-1967 school year.

Adults, young adults, and the high school age youth have numerous ties outside of Lake N. Nevertheless, the adult families are more established as a part of the community structure and their involvement binds them closer to the bases of social power. Decision making bodies, economic enterprises, formal associations, and age related voluntary associations are controlled or partly controlled by the adults. It would appear that the adult has the advantage of age, a seemingly necessary prerequisite for social power in Lake N, and also maintains some of the vitality of youth, a quality lacking in the senior adults. That is not to say, however, that

all adults share equally in the privileges of social power.

As suggested above, the young adult years are apprenticeship years leading to the responsibility of decision making that may come with adulthood. Not all young adults complete their apprenticeships and in that way, either intentionally or unintentionally, exclude themselves from occupying community social power status-roles. The homogeneity that prevails for young adults is replaced by a division that stratifies the adult resident of Lake N by power-prestige with wealth still playing a relatively minor part as a stratifying base. Social power and prestige are achieved for the adult family as the successful completion of apprenticeship responsibilities during the young adult years. Adult families who are newcomers to Lake N may secure their power-prestige rankings by civic involvement with successful outcomes usually resulting in a high rank, and either low involvement or unsuccessful outcomes resulting in low rankings.

There are some ascribed attributes of power-prestige in addition to the apprenticeship achievements, such as membership in ethnic groupings and religious affiliations. Finnish ethnic identification presents a slight obstacle to power-prestige attainment, whereas the Swedish or Norwegian ethnic identification is an asset. Church identification of any kind is an asset but the fundamentalist position of the Swedish Baptist Church is slightly suspect by the general community and can be a limited liability in certain circumstances where members of that church are attempting to gain high rank. As suggested earlier, church affiliation and kinship ties are related. To the extent that church and kinship obligations are successfully met, an adult family may expect support from its kinsmen and churchmen in securing its place within the stratification arrangement in Lake N.

Like young adult families, most Lake N adult families have strong kin group ties. Adult males, like their younger counterparts, are avid outdoorsmen. Adult females, however, are less outgoing than are the young adult women. Where the young adult female accepts the dominance of the young adult male with reservations and compensates for her would-be subordinate status-role by an attempted increase in freedom from household tasks, the adult female ties herself to household duties, with the exceptions being occasional recreational activities such as visiting and hobby club participation. Some adult women are employed outside the home, but in most cases the outside employment does not seem to alter the acceptance of the "housewife" status-role with its subservient position relative to the dominant male. The status-role of children in adult families is frequently more local in orientation than is the case for the children of young adult families. Consumption and service patterns for adult families are more apt to be local than is the case for young adult families, although the decrease in variety of goods and lack of services locally is forcing the adult families to abandon some of its local alliances.

Senior adult families, unlike the young adult and adult families, may be better understood when viewed according to four subtypes that appear to be present in Lake N. Among the senior adult families there are involved long term residents and non-involved long term residents, involved short term residents and non-involved short term residents. Both the involved and non-involved long term residents have strong community identities with the involved residents having a less provincial understanding of Lake N than is true of the non-involved residents. Involved short term residents have an alliance to Lake N such as a man might have for his adopted homeland,

whereas non-involved short term residents see Lake N as a quiet place in which to live out the balance of their lives and in most instances, they maintain an identity with their previous home place. Accordingly, three of the four subtypes of senior adult families may be characterized by high community identity, and two of these by high involvement.

Relative to community stratification, the high identity high involvement senior adult types rank high, with long term residents ranking the highest. Most long term involved senior adult families have a considerable history of community service supporting their high rank, whereas short term resident senior adult families are relative newcomers and have to prove their worth. Wealth is recognized by long term residents as a sign of accomplishment by short term residents, but at the same time, wealth has a negative effect if it is conspicuously displayed. Attempts at power transfer from the previous homeplace are also resisted to the extent that the aggressive newcomer may find exclusion rather than acceptance the reward for his aggressiveness. Instead, his rank is earned by service within the community, for with service come power and prestige.

Non-involved long term residents may be ranked low to middle in the stratification arrangement, with the local interpretation of family morality being the decisive factor in the ranking. Non-involved short term residents are outside of local stratification as they are often terminal fringe members of the community. To the extent that the health of senior adult family members alters involvement, it may be seen to have an effect on a family's rank. Decline in the health of a member may move a short term family from the achievement of high rank to a fringe position or the long term involved resident may be forced to rest at a lower rank than

previously enjoyed.

The status-role of senior adult males varies by the family subtypes. Both the non-involved long term and short term males occupy themselves with leisure pursuits, but slightly more utilitarian activities are carried out by the long term residents. Chopping wood and making house repairs in contrast to fishing and gardening characterize the different status-roles of the resident subtypes. Involved long term and short term residents carry out some of the same activities as do their fellow senior adult males, but a high proportion of their time is spent with community affairs. Because these men are generally free from employment obligations, they are able to spend large amounts of time on community projects. However, most senior adults consider themselves "retired," to a greater or lesser extent, and for that reason they frequently prefer that the adults have the larger local responsibility.

The status-role of senior adult females must again be seen in terms of the four subtypes, but with the resulting pattern being more homogeneous than is the case for men. Most senior adult females can be categorized, like the adult females, as "housewives." However, this "housewife" status-role is often modified by the retirement of the male family member with the result that the senior adult female seeks to establish a "retired housewife" status-role which permits her greater recreational and leisure time options. The non-involved long term female resident, thus, spends a greater portion of her time with social activities in contrast to what she permitted herself previously. The non-involved short term female resident participates in clubs and coffee parties, but not to the extent that both the involved long term and involved short term female residents do. As one involved

short term senior adult female resident said to the researcher after he had made several unsuccessful attempts to interview her, "I have not been home one day this week. There is so much to do." Among the senior adult females, the involved residents, both long term and short term, keep numerous social activities going and the non-involved residents, both long term and short term, participate in these activities from time to time.

Widowed females forty years of age and older have the option of participating in some of the social activities controlled by the involved adult females. No divorced females over forty years of age were identified during the study and it was noted that the divorced females under forty years of age were largely excluded from community life. Widowed and divorced males are of two types, the tavern frequenter and the recluse, with neither type well integrated into community life. In several cases it would appear that the tavern frequenter maintains that status-role not so much because of a preference for drinking but because the tavern supplies him with a friendship group and an activity. For the most part, widowed and divorced persons are not ranked according to general stratification indicators but are given a special rank commensurate with their particular status-role and past ranking.

Another category that must be considered in discussing the family in Lake N is the part time resident family. Some part time residents are professionals and some are successful business men. Others are of modest means having planned carefully so as to afford a summer cottage. In general, the part time resident family is not involved in civic activities except by occasional financial contribution. Although visiting patterns between part time and full time families are found, the part time families

are never fully integrated into Lake N community life, although they may make some attempts at assimilation. For example, the professional from Superior will arrive at his lake cottage and change from his business suit to a lumberjack shirt and casual slacks, a manner of dress of the full time resident. It is as if he wants to shed the outward signs of wealth, power, and prestige that are a part of his urban status-role. Having taken this demeanor, he renders himself powerless if, at a later time, he wishes to exercise a power-prestige transfer for the reason of accomplishing a personal goal within Lake N. If he wants to have the speed limit changed near his home or desires a public works project, the high prestige-power professional finds his requests are of no greater salience for the local decision makers than if the same requests were made by full time residents of modest rank.

The one way in which the part time resident family with high prestige-power in the external system may exercise local control is through spending patterns. An addition to a cottage will have positive benefits to the Lake N economy. The purchase of supplies or the hiring of local residents for odd jobs will be noticed and compensated for by special services and commercial considerations. However, if wealth is used conspicuously in this fashion, the benefit to the spender diminishes as he gains the reputation for being a "fool" or an "easy mark" by the local population. Careful spending can have the result of improved services for the part time resident family whereas overspending cancels out the service advantage and little spending wins few, if any, service privileges.

In summary, young adult families have little power, are largely homogeneous in composition, and are permitted great behavioral latitudes

because of their youth, vitality, and position of young children. Adult families are of two types, the involved and the non-involved, with the former having more prestige and power and accordingly a higher rank than is the case for the latter. Senior adults describe four subtypes based on length of residence and community involvement. The involved long term senior adult family ranks high in the community, the involved short term senior adult family ranks lower than his long term counterpart, the non-involved long term family generally is above the non-involved adult family but below those who are involved and the non-involved short term family is only partly included in local stratification. Widowed and divorced persons are ranked separately from married persons in terms of local stratification and the part time families are included with the non-involved short term residents in that they are only occasionally included in local stratification considerations.

Relative to strong community identification, pre-school children from adult families have stronger local identification than do pre-school children from young adult families. Children in grades one through eight increase their local identification with slightly less local identification still evident in children from young adult families. Youths in grades nine through twelve develop stronger area identification than the younger school age children, with boys having a slightly stronger local identification than do the girls. Young adults have a low local identification, with many of their activity patterns tied to Duluth-Superior and the area. Adults have a higher local identification with involved adults displaying a slightly greater area identification than is found with non-involved adults. Senior adults who are long term residents are highly integrated into the community

and are characterized by strong local identification with the involved long term family being less provincial in community view than the non-involved long term family. Involved short term senior adult families are attached to their adopted home but are not as well integrated into the community and are therefore more tenuous in local identification. Non-involved short term senior adult families, on the other hand, have an extremely low local identification, viewing themselves as temporary residents, and in fact they share the same sort of identification as do many of the part time residents. Unlike the non-involved short term senior adult families, however, the part time family displays a strong identification with his cottage and immediate area of lake activity, but this strong identification does not extend to the total community, and subsequently the part time family has a low local identity. Local identity varies considerably among widowed and divorced persons with some having an extremely strong local identity and others almost rejecting the community.

In the preceding discussion of Lake N families, categories by age, involvement, length and kind of residence, and marital status were used. Like all categories, these categories are not entirely accurate, for families are unique and their individualness frequently conflicts with the general pattern from which the categories are created. These exceptions should be acknowledged but they do not seem to invalidate the general pattern which has been treated above. The same categories will be employed to a limited extent in the following discussion of casual interaction within Lake N.

Casual interaction

Casual interaction patterns are many and varied with different durations, frequencies, locations, and actors involved. One casual interaction pattern of considerable importance is the neighborhood visitation, where the purpose may range from a social exchange over coffee to the borrowing of a tool. To the public opinion questionnaire statement, "If a person needs a tool or some help he can always turn to his friends and neighbors in Lake N," there was an 84.3 per cent agreement, 5.7 per cent disagreement and a 10.0 per cent expression of no opinion. (Refer to Table 30). In fact, there is a noticeable amount of reciprocal help and lending in Lake N, a characteristic behavior of the community according to some informants and this is, in part, borne out by the 71.4 per cent agreement with the public opinion questionnaire statement, "Television has reduced the amount and frequency of house to house to house visitations," with which 20.0 per cent of the respondents disagreed and 8.4 expressed no opinion. (Refer to Table 35). Another public opinion questionnaire statement related to house to house visitation deals with transmission of local news. "The best way to get the local news in a community the size of Lake N is by word of mouth." The word of mouth method does not seem to be working as indicated by the 45.7 per cent agreement with the statemnt and the 40.0 per cent disagreement, with 11.4 per cent of the respondents expressing no opinion. (Refer to Table 34). It is clear from observation and community informants that informal communication networks are increasingly less effective than they once were with only a small number of informed men and women transmitting their information among a small circle of friends.

The men of Lake N are seldom involved in house to house visitation except within the kin groups and the instances of "couples" visitation. House to house visitation seems to be a female pattern of behavior by age categories such that young adult women visit with young adult women and with members of their kin group, adult women visit with adult women and members of their kin group, and senior adult women visit with senior adult women and members of their kin group. These age lines are crossed largely because of voluntary association and formal association obligations, but most frequently visitation patterns promoted by associations cease when the obligations of the associations are fulfilled.

Men engage in kin group house to house visitations and couples visitations as in the case of card playing parties, but it is not common for men to visit men at home except for borrowing and helping reasons. Instead of house to house visitation, men, and to some extent women, gather for coffee after getting their mail. During the 1966-1967 winter season, the "drug store" was closed thus eliminating the visiting place for many of the men. To the public opinion questionnaire statement, "The men of Lake N suffered a hardship with no coffee shop during the 1966-1967 winter season," there was 38.6 per cent agreement and a 37.1 per cent disagreement and a 24.3 per cent no opinion expression. (Refer to Table 32). However, the frequency of complaining about the situation and the efforts to establish alternative coffee facilities is not at all consistent with the public opinion questionnaire response. Even when male response to this statement is examined separately there is a similar sentiment expressed. Such a response is difficult to understand and the community was obviously trying to seek some alternative coffee shop solution during the winter season in

question such that one grocery store and one gas station set out coffee service on a contribution basis and one tavern begrudgingly went into the restaurant business. As the tavern was "off limits" for some men and the grocery store and gas station were in business for other reasons than coffee purposes, the coffee shop problem with its ramifications for men's visitations was not resolved until the "drug store" opened in the spring of 1967.

Post office and grocery store casual interaction is an important part of community life in Lake N but although these interactions may take place six days each week they are, by their setting, brief and superficial. Interaction of greater duration does take place in one of the grocery stores for high school age boys because there is no other available meeting spot, other than the public areas and the boys' cars, where the boys may meet after school. When the "drug store" is open, the grocery store "hangout" pattern changes to the "drug store" where the table and counter arrangements are more conducive to visiting. As suggested above, the closing of the "drug store" during the winter of 1966-1967 altered casual interaction patterns and it would appear that only the male youth of the community were successful in relocating their arena of casual interaction. By early spring the men were establishing some patterns of interaction contact at one of the gas stations and to some extent had developed casual interaction patterns during the winter months in the tavern that was serving as a restaurant.

Although the tavern, in serving as a restaurant, provided a casual meeting place for community males over twenty-one, some males would not go to the tavern even for a cup of coffee and a sandwich. The tavern was, therefore, not satisfactory as a meeting place for the general male

resident; however, it served as a meeting place for its regular customers and males who did not object to patronizing a tavern. Of the two taverns in Lake N, both were open on weekends during the winter season but they would take turns being open during the weekday evenings, with the tavern serving food open most frequently. Each tavern had its regular clientele, but due to the rotation of service during the week, these regular customers had to frequent the tavern other than the place they regularly patronized. As might be expected, new patterns of casual interaction grew out of the intermixing of the two tavern cliques.

Deer hunting is a sport that lends itself well to casual interaction following the day's hunt. From four o'clock P.M. until dusk on the afternoons of the deer hunting season the hunters arrive at the two taverns either to tell about the buck that got away or enter a "kill" on the game board where each player pays one dollar for the privilege of playing and wins a cash prize if he kills the buck with the greatest number of antler points. Deer are conspicuously displayed in back of pickup trucks, draped over cars, and hung in such a way that the deer may be seen from the road by anyone living in the platted village. As suggested above, the "outdoorsman" status-role takes precedence over other status-roles at certain seasons for the males of Lake N, and the deer hunting season is the most important period of "outdoorsman" predominance.

Ice fishing is another "outdoorsman" preoccupation that contributes to casual interaction of males. After the ice covers the lake, the ice fishing houses, usually stored near the owner's home, are hauled to the lake where they are placed in clusters. Each cluster makes up a friendship unit and the ice houses will usually remain in the same locations

for the winter. Unlike summer fishing, there is a greater stability of location for ice fishing with the ice fishing enthusiast spending many hours visiting with friends and fellow ice fishermen in the warmth of the ice fishing houses.

A slightly different sort of ice fishing sponsored by the Community Association takes place as a contest on a Saturday or Sunday from eight o'clock A.M. to four o'clock P.M. during the winter season. The purpose of the contest is to catch the largest fish but the fishermen have to fish within a restricted area and the bait they must use is supplied by the contest committee. In the "fish-o-rama" contest, the fisherman does not have the comfort of an ice fishing house but remains outdoors crouched near his ice fishing hole. Some participants sit in their cars visiting with friends while watching the special ice fishing equipment to see whether or not the flag moves from a horizontal to a vertical position which indicates that a fish has taken the bait. Occasions such as the "fish-o-rama" attract Lake N residents and people from outside the community. Apart from meeting on the ice and in cars, food service is provided in the Auditorium basement and the taverns keep active well after the contest is over.

Other community events also provide opportunities for casual interaction. More will be said about the events in the discussion of voluntary associations and formal associations, but as they do stimulate casual interaction, they should be mentioned here. Public events include the following: 1) Fourth of July celebration, 2) Christmas tree lighting event, 3) Homecoming, 4) baseball games, 5) turkey shoot, 6) Tambouritzan concert, 7) snowmobile races, 8) church suppers and bazaars, 9) adult and

teen dances, and 10) regular club, church, and other association special meetings.

How is casual interaction altered from winter to summer and how do part time residents change casual interaction? During the summer season, casual interaction can take place out of doors without the inconvenience of intense cold and plentiful snow. Accordingly, the summer season is more conducive to casual interaction, and because of the increase in population there are more opportunities for varied casual interaction. Part time and full time residents have the opportunity to meet at the public events, at the taverns, and through other common recreational pursuits. Apart from neighborhood interactions, which may be casual or systematic, most part time-full time interactions are fleeting rather than lasting. The more common pattern is for part time residents to interact with part time residents by either transferring friendship patterns from their home places or evolving casual interaction patterns in connection with cottage use. The cohesiveness of part time residents does not exclude the full time resident from casual interaction patterns but instead places the determination of casual interaction largely with proximity, with cottage owners interacting most frequently with full time residents living near them.

To summarize, women engage in house to house visitation most frequently while men, except for kin group and borrowing-helping visitation, prefer to meet over coffee in a public place. There is some evidence that the casual interaction for women has decreased over what it was in the past, and during the winter of 1966-1967 the men were deprived of their coffee shop thereby limiting their casual interaction potential. High school age

boys were able to make the successful transition from the "drug store" to the grocery store as an arena for casual interaction, but the men were divided between the tavern which served as a restaurant and the gas station with a coffee service. It was not until early spring that the gas station began to emerge as the men's arena for casual interaction, but this was only shortly before the reopening of the "drug store." Outdoor activity is a catalyst for male interaction in Lake N as are the several public events for the residents in general. The casual interaction between full time and part time residents is, however, limited to fleeting relationships or casual interaction patterns growing out of proximity to neighbors.

It is suggested above that casual interactions are related to voluntary associations and formal associations with the two types of associations creating the conditions for casual interaction rather than actually structuring casual interactions. In order to understand more completely the structure and process of social relationships with Lake N, the community's voluntary associations and formal associations need to be examined.

Voluntary and formal associations

The distinction that is made here between voluntary associations and formal associations is structural such that the "voluntary associations" designation refers to a common interest association where the goal is recreational and the structure is loosely hierarchical whereas the "formal association" also has a common goal but the goal is instrumental and the structure describes a hierarchy. The criteria of goal and hierarchy will be used in classifying the associations found in Lake N with the voluntary associations discussed first and the formal associations discussed last.

The importance of Lake N's churches has already been commented on and when examined more closely it is clear why the churches are of such great importance. Within each church there are voluntary associations such as the "ladies aid" and formal associations such as the "board of trustees." Discussion of the churches' formal associations will be postponed briefly as the purpose here is to examine the voluntary associations of the churches. Each church has its own array of voluntary associations with some systemic linkage among the voluntary associations within each church and among the voluntary associations of the several churches.

Most fundamental in religious viewpoint of the Lake N churches, the Swedish Baptist Church has programs sponsored by the Ladies Aid Society where missionary workers visit, present services explaining the nature of their work, and hold prayer meetings. Young peoples' meetings are generally similar to the Ladies Aid meeting format with music playing a central part in youth gatherings and the "Youth for Christ" movement tying the Lake N Baptist youth with county and area evangelical activity. The church choir is active as another church contained voluntary association, important both to the church service and to the promotion of the cohesive bond between the church members. Because the Swedish Baptist Church demands high involvement, as illustrated by the weekly posting of the previous week's attendance and the presence of member's mailboxes provided for regular members and used to determine attendance, church members are often members of more than one church related voluntary association. The voluntary associations meet on an average of once each week giving an active church member several church contained contacts each week.

Lutheran Church voluntary associations are similar to those of the

Baptist Church in general type with a Women's Group, a Luther League youth group, and a choir, but these voluntary associations differ in form. The primary difference is that the Women's Group is principally concerned with cooking and serving food, the youth group with hay rides and related recreational activities, and the choir with performing the sacred music for the Sunday service. Much of the other associational activity within the Lutheran Church is semi-formal with committees formed to consider a number of issues and report their findings back to the central committee. Although these committees are instrumental in design, they serve a recreational purpose for many committee members and the outcome of committee responsibility increases the involvement of the church members in the church.

The Roman Catholic Ladies Aid and the Altar Society are the two most active voluntary associations within the Roman Catholic Church. Both groups have a fund raising purpose that would classify them as partly instrumental, but they are more social in structure with new committees assigned for each new event sponsored. The makeup of the two voluntary associations is more heterogeneous than is true of the other Lake N churches, because the church membership at the Roman Catholic Church is drawn from a larger geographic area than is true for the other churches. For this reason, the voluntary associations play an important integrating function for the church and its members.

As mentioned earlier, the Presbyterian Church is faced with the problem of an aging congregation. At one time the Presbyterian Church was among Lake N's most active churches with the Ladies Aid serving not only the church but the entire community in the preparation of community suppers and other service work. The church once had an active choir and youth

group but the choir has disbanded and there are not enough youth in the church to constitute a viable youth group. One elderly church member left the Presbyterian Church $26,000 for improvement and maintenance of the physical structure, resulting in the remodeling of the sanctuary and basement meeting hall, but fewer church meetings are held now than was true ten to fifteen years ago. Nevertheless, the Ladies Aid suppers held in the church basement meeting hall are still the most frequent of their kind in Lake N.

Boy Scouts and Cub Scouts are active in Lake N with the Cub Scouts meeting during the school year in the Den Mother's home and the Boy Scouts meeting in the school gymnasium every Tuesday evening. Twenty-one boys ages twelve to sixteen are in the Boy Scout troop with twelve to fifteen boys, on an average, attending the weekly meetings. The Scout Masters are young adult males and the main activities of the troop are planning campouts, camping out, and playing basketball during meetings. One of the problems of a small community with a variety of voluntary associations is the lack of sufficient leadership, a problem that is manifest more with youth activity than with adult activity. More will be said about the problem of leadership in the next chapter.

The Lake N P.T.A. was organized in 1926 and has experienced a cyclical rise and fall in membership. Consisting largely of young adults and adults, its last peak membership was in 1957-1958 when it had ninety members. Since that time the membership has declined with the decline of instrumental purposes which were eroded away by the consolidated school's service to the students. In its early years the P.T.A. sponsored a band, a dental clinic, an immunization program, and a hot lunch program. After the school

consolidation, the P.T.A. ceased to perform essential school related functions and become increasingly parent oriented having dances, dinners, socials, and informative speakers. Money is still raised for the purchase of items for the school with the main money raising activity being a Halloween Carnival. However, its monthly meetings are more recreational than instrumental with the result of a loss of P.T.A. membership.

On the last Wednesday of each month, the Garden Club holds its regular meeting at the Lake N Auditorium. The meetings are intended to be both enjoyable and informative with occasional speakers brought in and reports on flower and vegetable raising given by members. Membership in the Garden Club is comprised largely of senior adult and adult ladies, with some couples belonging. Usually a light dessert lunch is included as part of the meeting and the serving of food seems to promote the "visiting hour" atmosphere in contrast to the more formal meeting atmosphere. In early December of each year the Garden Club and the local churches cooperate in the Christmas tree lighting event where senior adult citizens are honored. As such, the Garden Club may be seen as a combination recreational and service club.

The Lake N Homemakers Club holds its regular meetings on the third Tuesday of each month, with the regular meetings held in member's homes and special meetings held in the Lake N Auditorium. Having its activities promoted by the County Extension Service, the Homemakers Club has varied programs for its members and occasionally sponsors card parties and public events, usually held at the Auditorium. Like the Garden Club, the Homemakers Club has an older membership with senior adult ladies predominating. There is some membership overlap between the two clubs, as might be

expected, but there is enough demand for club activity of the sort provided by the two clubs that they both remain active. Signs of friction are also evident between some members of one club toward members of the other club but this friction is more between selected members than between the two clubs.

Another senior adult women's club activity is the Birthday Club. Monthly meetings are held at member's homes where all of the members' birthdays that occur during the month of the meeting are celebrated. The Birthday Club has a large payoff for its members because of the rewards it gives them in the recognition of their birthdays. To see an eighty year old woman become as excited as a young child at the prospect of a birthday is ample evidence of the positive benefits of the Birthday Club.

Young adult and adult males have their recreational activities in the bowling competition that is increasingly a part of the winter social scene. Teams are formed by interested Lake N males with local business sponsorship and the teams participate in a bowling league centered in a community southwest of Lake N. The competitive spirit which arises from the bowling activity is important, according to informants, in breaking the dull sameness of the long winter. Other competitive events are organized around card playing, with winter cribbage tournaments held at the taverns, and similar card playing rivalries taking place in some homes. Participation in card playing activities describes a very loose voluntary association structure.

Young adult recreational activity in snowmobiling has resulted in the formation of a voluntary association called "Trailblasters," a young adult couples' special interest group that bands together for the purpose of

snowmobiling and promoting this developing winter sport. A snowmobile race held on the lake is sponsored by the club but with the strong recreational goal held by the members the races are plagued with a lack of leadership and organization. Some senior adults and adults are critical of the club's activities because of the noise of snowmobiles and a history of property damage caused by the indiscrete use of these vehicles. Permissiveness granted to young adults insures no open opposition to the "Trailblasters," however.

A new voluntary association begun during the 1966-1967 winter season is the "teen club" and its counterpart, the "youth club." The teen club includes both boys and girls between the ages of thirteen and eighteen and is run by its members for recreational purposes. Meeting in the basement of the Auditorium, the teen club provides a meeting place for the high school age grouping from Lake N. An adult chaperon is on hand at the auditorium during the meeting nights, twice each week, but he is not supposed to take an active part in the activities which include bumper pool, dancing, card playing, and just talking. Unlike the teen club, but part of the same program of supplying local recreation for young people, the "youth club" is for grade school age youngsters and holds its meetings in the late afternoons in the Auditorium. With the youth club there is a greater chaperon guided structure than there is for the older youths. As might be expected, the greatest problem experienced by the youth club and the teen club is the difficulty of securing chaperones, without which the club's meetings cannot take place because the Auditorium facilities are available on the condition that the chaperones are present. The chaperon problem may be cited as another example of the leadership problem found in Lake N.

Formal associations have an instrumental purpose rather than a recreational purpose. Within Lake N the trend is, as suggested above, toward a decrease in formal associations and an increase in voluntary associations, either by the creation of new voluntary associations or by the redefinition of former formal associations. Formal associations that have remained consistent with their instrumental goals are, however, of considerable importance in relation to the research problem concerning integration, social power, and social change.

All four churches maintain decision making bodies dealing with the financial and spiritual affairs of each church. The Baptist Church follows the free church tradition of resisting a hierarchy within the church or between the church and the general denomination, and as such, the Baptist Church encourages the greatest participation in decision making. Both the Lutheran and Roman Catholic Churches have episcopal structures with the presence of a hierarchy; however, lay committees are essential at the level of the local church and increase further in importance where there is not a resident clergyman. A representative form of government is found in the Presbyterian Church but as has been stated before, the age of the "elders" is a problem for the Lake N Presbyterian Church.

Formerly called the "Chamber of Commerce" but having no connection with the national association of the same name, the "Community Association" has a history of several decades of working as an activity promoting agency within the community. Boasting over 200 dues paying members in 1967, the Community Association represents a power faction in Lake N; however, the strength of the power faction is not as great as the membership figures would indicate. The membership includes part time residents, full time

residents, and former residents, and is successfully maintained by a large range of membership activities including, as of June 20, 1967, the publication of a "Newsletter." Many of the members are not directly involved in the power struggles of the Community Association but instead either favor some of the community promotion activities or enjoy the monthly "Newsletter" which is included in the membership dues of one dollar per year.

Each year the Community Association shares the cost of having a lifeguard on the public beach for the summer season, provides for a local baseball team, gives a small scholarship to a local youth, aids the Volunteer Fire Department with fund raising, prints and distributes literature about Lake N's recreational advantages, and sponsors the Fourth of July celebration, the Homecoming celebration, the Labor Day celebration, the annual concert of the Duquesne University Tambouritzans (a Slavic music group), the Fish-o-rama, and the weekly Saturday night teenage dances during the summer season. Of these Community Association events, the most controversial is the weekly teenage dance and it will be this issue that will provide the background for the dynamics of power to be examined in the next chapter.

A far less controversial formal association is the Volunteer Fire Department. Officially organized in 1954, the Volunteer Fire Department has earned Lake N a fire rating of nine out of a possible ten point maximum rating. Fund raising activities such as the annual Turkey Shoot and the Firemen's Ball, as well as Village Board support, provide equipment for the twenty-five firemen, all of whom receive training in the use of the village fire fighting equipment. Meetings of the voluntary fire department, held on the third Tuesday of each month, are sparsely attended, but when a fire

alarm sounds the fire fighting team is near maximum strength. Support for the Volunteer Fire Department is evident in the fund raising activities and in the response to the public opinion questionnaire statement, "Lake N has one of the finest Volunteer Fire Departments in the area." Agreement with this statement was overwhelming, with 91.4 per cent agreeing, 4.3 per cent expressing no opinion, and 4.3 per cent disagreeing. (Refer to Table 45). A similar vote of confidence is given to the ambulance service also operated through the Volunteer Fire Department.

At one time the Odd Fellows Lodge was active in Lake N, but in the mid 1950's the lodge discontinued activities because of a lack of local interest and the lodge hall was given to an active Superior Odd Fellows Lodge. Some summer meetings of the Superior group are held in the Lake N Odd Fellows Hall and several of the Lake N Odd Fellows attend these meetings, but for all practical purposes, the Odd Fellows is a past formal association. Toward the end of the field work for the present research, a new formal association, the Lions Club, was formed in Lake N but its realization did not come about until Feburary of 1968. Recent reports from the community indicate that the Lions Club is active in community affairs with many of the former Odd Fellows serving as officers. For the present study, however, the Lions Club was no more than an idea beginning to gain some interest.

How exhaustive is the treatment of voluntary associations and formal associations presented above? Omitted are the bridge groups that are only slightly removed from casual interaction and the once active clubs that exist in name only. Of the associations included, the Community Association will be given greatest additional attention in the next chapter. The other

associations must be considered as well, however, because they constitute a part of the fabric of the Lake N community through their integrative functions, their change maintenance forces, and their exercise of social power.

To recapitulate, it is consistent with the high demand involvement of the Swedish Baptist Church, that the voluntary associations and formal associations operating within the church require a high commitment of their members. The Lutheran Church and Roman Catholic Church voluntary associations and formal associations are less demanding but, nevertheless, serve integrating purposes for both churches. In the case of the Presbyterian Church, the past integration of the church members seems to be promoting continuation of the voluntary associations with the formal associations occasionally exceeding their limits of denominational authority without any objection on the part of the congregation. The congregation does not object to "illegal" acts by the Presbyterian formal associations because they are done so as to perpetuate the existence of the church.

Lake N Boy Scouts are active but are hampered in their activities by leadership problems similar to those of the "teen club" and the "youth club." The Lake N P.T.A. is plagued with problems of goal adjustment such that it no longer has instrumental goals and its new recreational goals are not adequate to maintain an active membership. Neither the Garden Club, the Homemakers Club, nor the Birthday Club have the problems of the above two voluntary associations as they are made up of and run by senior adult women expressly for their own recreational purposes. Young adult voluntary association activity is frequently so recreationally oriented, as in the case of the "trailblasters," that it lacks sufficient organization

for even occasional instrumental purposes, but when young adults and adults share the same activity, as in the case of the bowling teams, organization seems to be more evident.

Formal associations such as the Community Association and the Volunteer Fire Department pursue their instrumental goals with differing degrees of controversy. The Volunteer Fire Department is crisis directed such that its members and the entire community put forth most every effort to make their contributions in time and money in order to maintain a working fire department. With a greater variety of purposes, the Community Association creates considerable controversy rather than the occasional complaint directed at the Volunteer Fire Department. More will be said about the controversy surrounding the Community Association in relation to the teenage dances as a part of the social power discussion contained in Chapter Seven. Economic enterprises and decision making bodies are important both in understanding the teenage dance controversy and in structuring social relationships within Lake N. Accordingly, economic enterprises and decision making bodies are discussed below.

Economic enterprises and decision making bodies

One belief relative to social power in Lake N is that the businessmen are the most important power actors in the community. The belief is fostered by the Village President being the owner of one of the taverns, one gas station owner being a village board member, and another gas station owner serving as village treasurer. These formal decision making statuses held by several businessmen combine with the physical presence of the businessmen in the business district to support the belief stated above.

The extent to which this belief may be substantiated is the topic of the next chapter. For the present purpose it will be sufficient to note that the reputation for power attributed to the businessmen is of importance in structuring their social relationships with the rest of the community thus suggesting that a reputation of social power is a partial by-product of accessibility within the community.

Lake N's two gas stations are open twelve months each year with one gas station specializing in major repair work and the other gas station gaining most of its business through gasoline sales and regular auto maintenance. The gas station specializing in major repair work has a service arrangement with the village for mechanical repairs of the village vehicles and with the school district for bus maintenance and repair. Both the village vehicles and the school buses buy part of their gasoline at the gas station specializing in gasoline sales, a purchasing pattern that may be influenced by that station's operator's other status-roles as village treasurer and school bus driver. Both gas stations are able to maintain a share of the local business because of their gas station specialization which results in community residents frequenting both places for their service specialties.

Of the two grocery stores in Lake N, one is sparsely stocked with merchandise whereas the other carries a fairly complete variety of goods for the size of the store. The operator of the sparsely stocked grocery store is a relative newcomer to Lake N, having been in the community less than five years, during which time his business has become less prosperous each year. Related to the owners of "drug store," now open only during the summer season, the operator of the sparsely stocked grocery store is critical

of the community and blames his business failure and the winter closing of the "drug store" on the lack of local patronage. Although there is some truth in this allegation, the business failure of the grocery store and winter closing of the "drug store" are more adequately explained by the shortcomings of the business people in question.

Unlike the sparsely stocked grocery store with its twelve to sixteen hour day, the well stocked grocery store is open eight hours per day five days per week and a half day on Wednesday. In contrast to the short residence of the other grocery store operator, the operator of the well stocked grocery is a long time resident of Lake N and is related by marriage to one of the large local kin groups. The operator of the well stocked grocery store is a real estate speculator in addition to his grocery store business and is reputed locally to be a shrewd businessman.

One of the most lucrative local businesses is the tavern business. One tavern is a man and wife enterprise with the woman having the primary business responsibility for the tavern. The same couple owns the Lake N Marina where the male member of the Lake N business family is primarily occupied. Although the couple has been trying to sell the Marina for the past three years, they have been unable to find a buyer with the result that they are forced to do more work than they can manage and some local informants suggest that they are financially overextended as well.

The other tavern is operated by the Village Board President who is also a member of the County Board of Supervisors. Increasingly, the political involvement of the Village Board President is taking precedence over the tavern business with the result that the tavern has reduced its hours during the winter season and often is open under the supervision of

one of several bartenders, most of whom are related to the Village President. Apart from the political sidelines of the Village President, he is in the metal culvert business which profits from the road building and maintenance activities of the village and the county.

Lake N's biggest business is a private boy's camp operated by a husband and wife who serve as co-directors of the camp. With headquarters in St. Louis, Missouri, the camp, which is predominantly Jewish, serves between 250 and 275 boys, ages 10 to 16, from throughout the country, with the majority of the campers from Chicago and St. Louis. The camping season lasts for eight weeks with the same boys and some one hundred staff members remaining for the duration of the camping season. In large part, the camp is a separate community having its main period of contact with the Lake N community restricted to the arrival and departure days when community residents, primarily business people, transport the boys from and to the train and on Tuesdays throughout the eight week camping season when the boys are permitted to venture outside of the campgrounds in cabin groups for the main purpose of making small purchases at the local business places. One by-product of the limited contact between the campers and the local residents is that both groupings develop unsupported notions about the behaviors and ideas of each other. In part, these misconceptions foster boundary maintenance and in part may be seen as the product of boundary maintenance which results from a segregation imposed by the camp directors to foster the camping atmosphere within the camp.

The laundromat, located next to the machine shop and cabinet shop in what used to be the cheese factory, is one of the newest businesses in Lake N. During the summer months the laundromat is one of the busiest

places in the community with its facilities used by camp staff, summer residents, and local residents. By the notices on the bulletin board listing items to buy and sell, it is clear that the laundromat is used by people from a far greater area than Lake N; however, most of the customers put their clothes into the washing and drying machines and then depart for a variety of other pursuits. Because the laundromat customers seldom remain at the laundromat while they are using the washing machines, the laundromat plays a relatively unimportant part in structuring social relationships. Nevertheless, it does provide many of its customers the free time in which to either engage in casual interaction or participate in associational activity.

Neither the cabinet shop nor the machine shop are of importance in structuring social relationships as much of their work is done on a contract basis for customers outside of Lake N. Occasionally the hardware store will refer its customers to one of these shops but such occurrences are not frequent according to the former hardware store manager.

The hardware store, a chain operated establishment, serves as a lumberyard, septic tank outlet, and the former manager engaged in some house building and remodeling contracting. During the field work period of 1966-1967 the hardware store manager, whose father had managed the store before him, took a job in another state and his family sold their interest in the business. The new managers, a retired Superior fireman and his wife, were looking for a business investment in Lake N as they had recently built a new lake home in the community. With the change in management came a reduction in the diversity of the hardware store's services and an alteration in the pattern of social relationships that used to take place in the

hardware store. Where the former management gave as much "jack of all trades" advice as they sold merchandise, the new management lacked the background to give such advice and as a result some of the hardware business and hardware store visiting was taken over by the hardware store in a community northwest of Lake N.

Lake N's Dairy Queen stand, owned by a couple from Superior who spend the summer living in a housetrailer parked behind the stand, is active during the summer months but closes shortly after Labor Day. Most of the work in connection with the operation of the stand is done by the woman because her husband has a regular job in Superior and is therefore not available for work at the Dairy Queen stand much of the time. The Dairy Queen stand is occasionally a gathering place for groups of youth but as they are not encouraged to remain in the vicinity of the stand they often take their purchases elsewhere.

A hot dog stand located in front of the Lake N "Inn" is open for a period of time similar to that of the Dairy Queen stand. In recent years the hours of the hot dog stand have varied from summer season to summer season because both the hot dog stand and the Lake N "Inn" have changed hands every several years. The "Inn" serves meals during the summer season but because of its frequent change in management it is seldom patronized because the quality of the food served is not established.

In operation for less than five years, the restaurant located on Highway B has earned the reputation for good food and friendly service. Because it is run as a summertime venture by a family from Duluth-Superior, its impact on the social relationships of Lake N is limited to the summer season but during that time it is common to find many local and part time

residents either eating at the restaurant or taking food prepared at the restaurant back to their homes. Although the restaurant does not parallel the "drug store" as a coffee shop, it is a primary arena for casual interaction during the summer season.

Two important decision making bodies in Lake N are the Village Board and the School Board. Although the School Board is included as a Lake N decision making body it has only one Lake N resident, an adult male, among its members with the rest of the members drawn from the eleven other municipalities included in the consolidated school district. During the period of time that the research was carried out the major activity of the School Board was the preparation of a school bond issue proposal and its submission to the voters of the twelve concerned municipalities. In Lake N, a great deal of casual interaction was stimulated by the school bond proposal which involved the investment of $800,000 in the expansion of the high school, the development of a kindergarten program, and expansion of other educational facilities in the community north of Lake N. Much of the discussion concerning the school bond proposal returned to the general disagreement of Lake N residents in the original location of the consolidated high school, a decision that created heated debate in the late 1940's. Because of the importance of the local school bond proposal during the 1966-1967 winter season, more will be said about this issue in the next chapter in the discussion of social power.

Unlike the School Board, the Village Board is entirely local in composition. Consisting of seven voting members, six trustees and the Village President, and the clerk as a non-voting member, the Village Board has its regular meetings on the first Tuesday of each month in a small basement

meeting room in the Auditorium. Each month the Village Board members decide on an array of questions ranging from physical maintenance and improvement of public property to the issuance of liquor licenses and other local permits. Two major issues handled by the Village Board during the 1966-1967 field work season were the teenage dance question and the sewage treatment proposal. Another issue of lesser magnitude for the community but of some importance in ascertaining the social power processes is the drainage ditch question raised annually by several cottage owners during the last five years.

These issues and others too numerous to mention here are processed by the seven voting Village Board members, one of whom has a college education, with such dispatch that the researcher had to question the Village Board members specifically on what appeared to be brief attention given to questions of considerable consequence. To these inquiries there seemed to be some surprise as the Village Board has "always" operated "efficiently" because of the large number of questions that it has to consider at each monthly meeting. The monthly meetings are attended by few observers with most of the audience having specific business to bring up with the Village Board. As a result, few community residents know what decisions the Village Board has made unless the clerk or the Village Board members give verbal accounts of the proceedings to the community residents linked into communication networks.

In the next chapter, the issues of the school bond proposal, the teenage dance question, the sewage proposal, and the drainage ditch question will provide part of the background for the discussion of social power. Another related occurrence that will be considered in the next chapter will

be the nomination and election of village officers in 1967. It will be the purpose of the next chapter to build an understanding of social power as it is played out within Lake N in terms of the social relationship information presented in the present chapter. Social power and social relationships will be considered by the way in which they take form relative to the selected community issues. In order to accomplish this purpose more effectively, the social relationships will not be briefly reconsidered systematically as it is the interrelationships of subsystems constituting the social system of the community of Lake N which must be appreciated if social power is to be understood.

The Lake N social system

The terms "network" and "web" are appropriate to the description of social relationships as illustrated by Figure 8. In Figure 8, the subsystem linkages within the Lake N social system are shown by connector lines with external system linkages indicated by arrows. Dotted lines indicate weak linkages with line overlaps intended to show indirect linkages although these relationships are not completely shown as they were difficult to discern in the research and they are still incompletely understood.

Although many of the linkages shown in Figure 8 have already been discussed in the preceding treatment of social relationships, several linkages deserve added mention here. The widowed female is far more a part of the community than is either the widowed or divorced male or the divorced female. Involved senior adult males are linked into the social system by

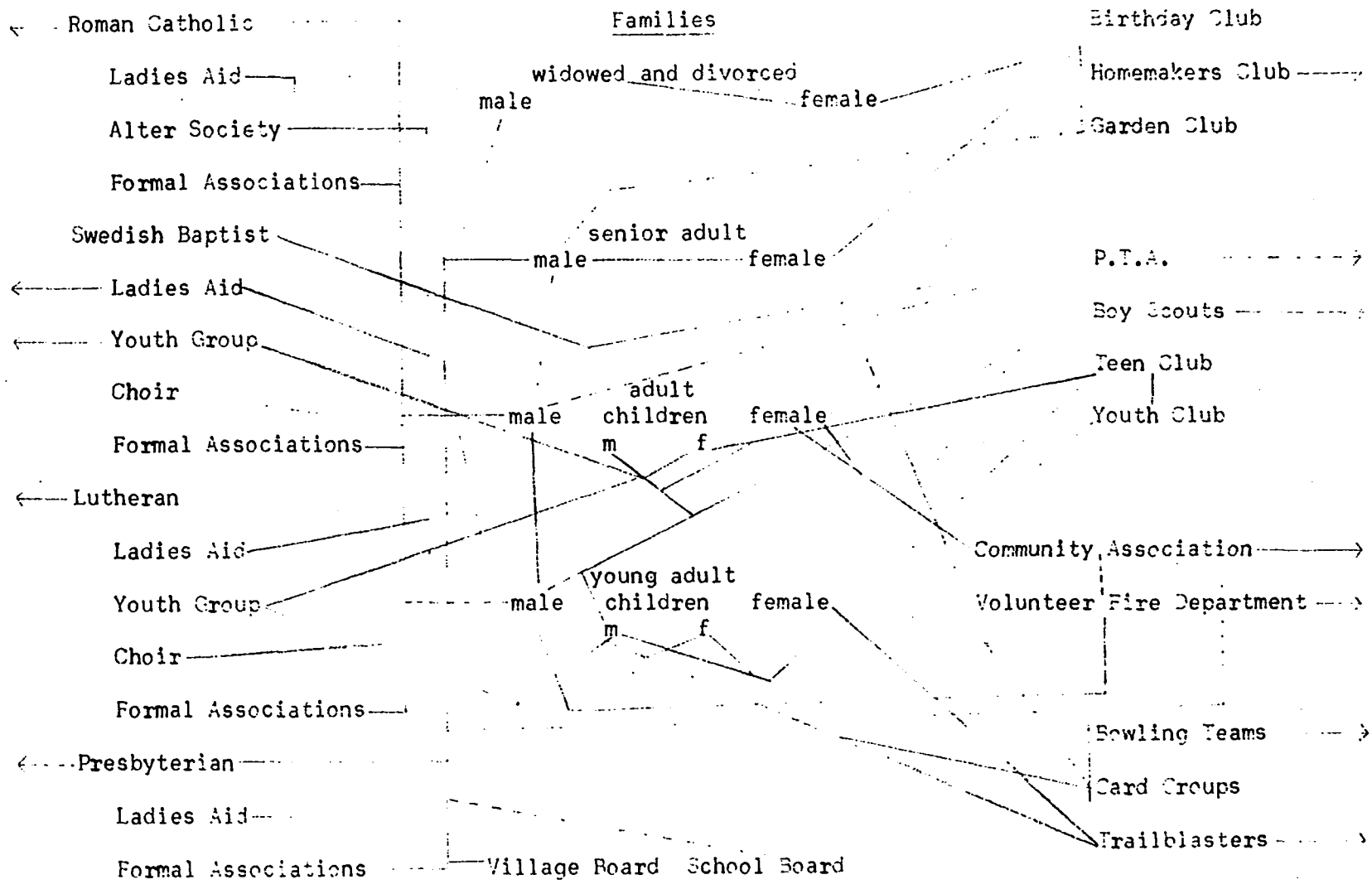


Figure 8. Subsystem linkages within the Lake N social system and with the external system

way of formal associations and decision making bodies whereas senior adult females are primarily linked by way of voluntary associations. Both adult males and females are highly connected to a variety of linkages giving the adult family the widest range of community commitments and interests. Young adult males and females are linked to the community social system through voluntary associations for their own ends and those relating to their children. One major exception to the primary involvement of young adults in voluntary associations is the young adult male's tie to the Volunteer Fire Department.

Some systemic linkages within the Lake N social system that need further comment are the Garden Club's cooperative linkage to the churches for the purpose of the Christmas tree lighting ceremony, the P.T.A.'s membership-leadership linkage to the Swedish Baptist Church, and the Village Board's conflict linkage with the Community Association. The cooperative, membership-leadership, and conflict linkages represent three common types of linkages found in Lake N with the membership-leadership linkage being the most common. Membership-leadership linkage is related to kin group ties which have the effect of increasing the integration of the four churches and promoting linkages of obligation and interaction between young adults, adults, senior adults, and widowed family members.

External linkages are shown for all the Lake N churches with Roman Catholic and Lutheran external system linkages through church government and absentee minister ties, Swedish Baptist external system linkage through evangelical activity, and Presbyterian external system linkage restricted through attempts at church maintenance but at the same time promoted by membership in a parish structure. Both decision making bodies are linked

to the external system with the School Board actually being more a part of the external system than the internal system and the Village Board linked legally to the external system as well as through the Village Board President's membership on the County Board of Supervisors. The Homemakers Club is linked to the external system through the County Extension Office, the Boy Scouts through the regional Boy Scout office, the bowling teams and "Trailblasters" through their cooperative and competitive relations with similar groups from surrounding communitites, and the fire department by reciprocal agreements with surrounding municipalities to cooperate in the fighting of major fires.

External systemic linkage for the Community Association is different from the external linkages mentioned above in that the Community Association's goal is to bring non-residents of Lake N into Lake N. There is one other formal association that is intended to have a similar purpose to that of the Community Association, (the Economic Development Association), but it is only an association on paper with the result that its proposed purpose of attracting new business to Lake N is not a viable external systemic linkage. Apart from the intentional external systemic linkage of the Community Association with its goal of bringing non-residents into the community, there is a similar external systemic linkage resulting from the influx of 3,650 part time residents during the summer season. As might be supposed, this influx of part time residents is the most important and pervasive linkage Lake N has with the external system.

What are the implications of the part time resident external systemic linkage for the maintenance of the community of Lake N? How is Lake N able to maintain its boundary maintenance with such sizable seasonal fluctuations

in its population? In part, the answer to these questions may be found with the resilient internal system integration that is found in Lake N but the seasonal transitions are not made without some disintegration of community life taking place. The integration, disintegration, reintegration cycle is repeated yearly in Lake N with the seasonal comings and goings of the part time residents. It will be the purpose of the next chapter to examine these processes in their relationship to social power and social change.

Up to this point, only occasional mention has been made of the subjective aspects of the Lake N community. Part Two of the present chapter will be a summary of the responses to the attitudinal statements contained in the public opinion questionnaire. It is intended that this review of these attitudinal responses will complete the description of Lake N by suggesting the prevailing value orientations found within the community. Both the objective characteristics of the community emphasized up to this point and the subjective characteristics to be presented in the balance of the chapter are needed in order to complete the holistic description of the community and to provide the data necessary for the analysis of socio-cultural integration, change, and social power to be found in Chapter Seven.

Attitudes in Lake N, the subjective properties

Toward the end of the research in Lake N fifty often repeated attitude statements were assembled in the form of a public opinion questionnaire. The purpose of the questionnaire was to determine the extent of community

agreement with the statements, some of which were recognized as minority opinions and others as majority points of view, but without the survey the researcher had no knowledge of the extent of minority-majority support. Seventy of the one hundred twenty seven questionnaires were completed and returned (55 per cent), an acceptable return rate that would have been higher if the identification number on the questionnaire had not worked as a threat to some of the potential respondents.

Some of the public opinion questionnaire responses have been referred to in the previous pages; however, the purpose of the balance of the chapter is to present all of the questionnaire results so as to complete the description of Lake N, primarily concerned with objective social system properties to this point, by giving attention to the subjective properties of the social system. Age and sex categories are used in presenting the subjective community characteristics. The age divisions used in the preceding presentation are modified somewhat in the presentation of attitude responses such that the adult and senior adult age groups have been combined and the young adult age category has been reduced by five years. Accordingly, the attitudinal information that follows is arranged by age into the categories under 35 years of age and over 35 years of age. Because three respondents failed to supply the requested age information, the age category of "no information" is included in the presentation of attitudinal responses. A "no information" category is also included for the eight respondents, including the same three that omitted age information, who failed to complete the requested sex information.

Because the attitudinal information is being presented as a part of the community description rather than as a measure of selected sociological

attributes and because the attitudinal information follows the presentation of objective community properties, there will not be a consideration of each attitudinal response. Instead, the reader is encouraged to read the attitudinal statements and inspect the extent and distribution of agreement and disagreement indicated for the 70 respondents by age and sex. In order to make the attitudinal responses more meaningful they are arranged according to topics, as follows: 1) location, Tables 8, 9, 10, and 11; 2) local opportunities, Tables 12, 13, and 14; 3) business and development, Tables 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21; 4) summer activity, Tables 22 and 23; 5) transportation, Tables 24 and 25; 6) pride and history, Tables 26, 27, and 28; 7) interpersonal relations, Tables 29, 30, 31, 32, and 33; 8) communication, Tables 34, 35, and 36; 9) public facilities, Tables 37, 38, and 39; 10) local government, Tables 40, 41, and 42; 11) police and fire protection, Tables 43, 44, and 45; 12) civic activity, Tables 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, and 51; 13) churches, Tables 52, 53, and 54; 14) future, Tables 55, 56, and 57.

Table 8. Lake N's greatest asset is its location by a beautiful lake

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	7	10.00	30	42.85	0	---	37	52.85
Female	5	7.14	18	25.71	0	---	23	32.85
No information	0	---	5	7.14	3	4.28	8	11.42
Sub total	12	17.14	53	75.71	3	4.28	68	97.14
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
DISAGREE								
Male	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	1	1.42
Female	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	2	2.85	0	---	0	---	2	2.85
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 9. I would like living in Lake N much better if the winters weren't so cold

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	3	4.28	13	18.57	0	---	16	22.85
Female	2	2.85	6	8.57	0	---	8	11.42
No information	0	---	2	2.85	2	2.85	4	5.71
Sub total	5	7.14	21	30.00	2	2.85	28	40.00
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	5	7.14	0	---	5	7.14
Female	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	8	11.42	0	---	8	11.42
DISAGREE								
Male	5	7.14	10	14.28	0	---	15	21.42
Female	4	5.71	8	11.42	0	---	12	17.14
No information	0	---	2	2.85	1	1.42	3	4.28
Sub total	9	12.85	20	28.57	1	1.42	30	42.85
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	4	5.71
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 10. Lake N is removed from the busy pace of urban life, but it is not too remote from the services I need

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	8	11.42	28	40.00	0	---	36	51.42
Female	6	8.57	18	25.71	0	---	24	34.28
No information	0	---	5	7.14	3	4.28	8	11.42
Sub total	14	20.00	51	72.85	3	4.28	68	97.14
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
DISAGREE								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 11. Living in Lake N permits a person to do more fishing and hunting than if he lived in a large city

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	6	8.57	26	37.14	0	---	32	45.71
Female	4	5.71	17	24.28	0	---	21	30.00
No information	0	---	4	5.71	2	2.85	6	8.57
Sub total	10	14.28	47	67.14	2	2.85	59	84.28
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
Female	2	2.85	1	1.42	0	---	3	4.28
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	2	2.85	5	7.14	0	---	7	10.00
DISAGREE								
Male	2	2.85	1	1.42	0	---	3	4.28
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	2	2.85	1	1.42	1	1.42	4	5.71
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 12. Lake N is not a good place to retire

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	1	1.42	4	5.71	0	---	5	7.14
Female	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	2		5		0		7	
NO OPINION								
Male	2	2.85	2	2.85	0	---	4	5.71
Female	2	2.85	4	5.71	0	---	6	8.57
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	4		6		1		10	
DISAGREE								
Male	4	5.71	23	32.85	0	---	27	38.57
Female	3	4.28	13	18.57	0	---	16	22.85
No information	0	---	5	7.14	2	2.85	7	10.00
Sub total	7		41		2		50	
NO INFORMATION								
Male	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1		1		0		2	
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 13. There are employment opportunities in Lake N for anyone with enough energy to look for them

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	1	1.42	7	10.00	0	---	8	11.42
Female	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	2		8		0		10	
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	2	2.85	1	1.42	3	4.28
Sub total	0		4		1		5	
DISAGREE								
Male	7	10.00	21	30.00	0	---	28	40.00
Female	5	7.14	17	24.28	0	---	22	31.42
No information	0	---	3	4.28	2	2.85	5	7.14
Sub total	12		41		2		55	
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 14. It seems to me that young energetic people should leave Lake N to take advantage of the opportunities elsewhere

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	5	7.14	13	18.57	0	---	18	25.71
Female	2	2.85	10	14.28	0	---	12	17.14
No information	0	---	3	4.28	1	1.42	4	5.71
Sub total	7	10.00	26	37.14	1	1.42	34	48.57
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	7	10.00	0	---	7	10.00
Female	1	1.42	3	4.28	0	---	4	5.71
No information	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42	2	2.85
Sub total	1	1.42	11	15.71	1	1.42	13	18.57
DISAGREE								
Male	3	4.28	10	14.28	0	---	13	18.57
Female	3	4.28	2	2.85	0	---	5	7.14
No information	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42	2	2.85
Sub total	6	8.57	13	18.57	1	1.42	20	28.57
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 15. Lake N could support a large diversified supermarket

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	4	5.71	15	21.42	0	---	19	27.14
Female	6	8.57	11	15.71	0	---	17	24.28
No information	0	---	3	4.28	2	2.85	5	7.14
Sub total	10	14.28	29	41.43	2	2.28	41	58.57
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	6	8.57	0	---	6	8.57
Female	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	0	---	10	14.28	0	---	10	14.28
DISAGREE								
Male	3	4.28	9	12.85	0	---	12	17.14
Female	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
No information	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42	2	2.85
Sub total	3	4.28	13	18.57	1	1.42	17	24.28
NO INFORMATION								
Male	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	1	1.42
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 16. Lake N's economy has suffered from the decline of farming in the area

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	2	2.85	18	25.71	0	---	20	28.57
Female	1	1.42	9	12.85	0	---	10	14.28
No information	0	---	3	4.28	1	1.42	4	5.71
Sub total	3	4.28	30	42.85	1	1.42	34	48.57
NO OPINION								
Male	2	2.85	2	2.85	0	---	4	5.71
Female	2	2.85	3	4.28	0	---	5	7.14
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	4	5.71	5	7.14	0	---	9	12.85
DISAGREE								
Male	4	5.71	10	14.28	0	---	14	20.00
Female	2	2.85	6	8.57	0	---	8	11.42
No information	0	---	2	2.85	2	2.85	4	5.71
Sub total	6	8.57	18	25.71	2	2.85	26	37.14
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	0	1.42
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 17. Lake N hasn't benefited from the improved economic conditions of Northwest Wisconsin

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	2	2.85	15	21.42	0	---	17	24.28
Female	4	5.71	9	12.85	0	---	13	18.57
No information	0	---	4	5.71	2	2.85	6	8.57
Sub total	6	8.57	28	40.00	2	2.85	36	51.42
NO OPINION								
Male	1	1.42	2	2.85	0	---	3	4.28
Female	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	5	7.14	0	---	6	8.57
DISAGREE								
Male	5	7.14	13	18.57	0	---	18	25.71
Female	2	2.85	5	7.14	0	---	7	10.00
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	7	10.00	19	27.14	0	---	26	37.14
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42	2	2.85
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 18. The Common Joint School District No. 1, of which Lake N is a part, represents a great improvement over the local education system prior to 1949

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	8	11.42	17	24.28	0	---	25	35.71
Female	4	5.71	13	18.57	0	---	17	24.28
No information	0	---	2	2.85	2	2.85	4	5.71
Sub total	12	17.14	32	45.71	2	2.85	46	65.71
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	6	8.57	0	---	6	8.57
Female	2	2.85	3	4.28	0	---	5	7.14
No information	0	---	2	2.85	1	1.42	3	4.28
Sub total	2	2.85	11	15.71	1	1.42	14	20.00
DISAGREE								
Male	0	---	7	10.00	0	---	7	10.00
Female	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	9	12.85	0	---	9	12.85
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 19. Lake N needs a large, modern, privately owned tourist facility so that it can better attract the vacation dollar

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	5	7.14	19	27.14	0	---	24	34.28
Female	2	2.85	13	18.57	0	---	15	21.42
No information	0	---	5	7.14	2	2.85	7	10.00
Sub total	7	10.00	37	52.85	2	2.85	46	65.71
NO OPINION								
Male	1	1.42	5	7.14	0	---	6	8.57
Female	3	4.28	2	2.85	0	---	5	7.14
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	4	5.71	7	10.00	0	---	11	15.71
DISAGREE								
Male	2	2.85	6	8.57	0	---	8	11.42
Female	1	1.42	2	2.85	0	---	3	4.28
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	3	4.28	8	11.42	1	1.42	12	17.14
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 20. The Lake N Economic Development Association should be actively trying to attract new business into Lake N

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	6	8.57	24	34.28	0	---	30	42.85
Female	5	7.14	15	21.42	0	---	20	28.57
No information	0	---	4	5.71	3	4.28	7	10.00
Sub total	11	15.71	43	61.42	3	4.28	57	81.43
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
Female	1	1.42	2	2.85	0	---	3	4.28
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	5	7.14	0	---	6	8.57
DISAGREE								
Male	2	2.85	3	4.28	0	---	5	7.14
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	2	2.85	5	7.14	0	---	7	10.00
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 21. Lake N could be a more prosperous trade center if it had newer buildings on Lake Avenue

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	5	7.14	23	32.85	0	---	28	40.00
Female	3	4.28	11	15.71	0	---	14	20.00
No information	0	---	2	2.85	3	4.28	5	7.14
Sub total	8	11.42	36	51.42	3	4.28	47	67.14
NO OPINION								
Male	1	1.42	4	5.71	0	---	5	7.14
Female	1	1.42	2	2.85	0	---	3	4.28
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	2	2.85	6	8.57	0	---	8	11.42
DISAGREE								
Male	1	1.42	3	4.28	0	---	4	5.71
Female	2	2.85	4	5.71	0	---	6	8.57
No information	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
Sub total	3	4.28	10	14.28	0	---	13	18.57
NO INFORMATION								
Male	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	1	1.42
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 22. I would like to know more about Camp N for Boys than I do

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	3	4.28	12	17.14	0	---	15	21.42
Female	3	4.28	3	4.28	0	---	6	8.57
No information	0	---	4	5.71	1	1.42	5	7.14
Sub total	6	8.57	19	27.14	1	1.42	26	37.14
NO OPINION								
Male	2	2.85	13	18.57	0	---	15	21.42
Female	3	4.28	9	12.42	0	---	12	17.14
No information	0	---	1	1.42	2	2.85	3	4.28
Sub total	5	7.14	23	32.85	2	2.85	30	42.85
DISAGREE								
Male	3	4.28	4	5.71	0	---	7	10.00
Female	0	---	4	5.71	0	---	4	5.71
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	3	4.28	8	11.42	0	---	11	15.71
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Female	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 23. The annual visits by the Duquesne Tambouritzans greatly improves the summer atmosphere of Lake N

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
AGREE								
Male	6	8.57	26	37.14	0	---	32	45.71
Female	3	4.28	13	18.57	0	---	16	22.85
No information	0	---	4	5.71	3	4.28	7	10.00
Sub total	9	12.85	43	61.42	3	4.28	55	78.57
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
Female	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	4	5.71	0	---	5	7.14
DISAGREE								
Male	2	2.85	1	1.42	0	---	3	4.28
Female	2	2.85	4	5.71	0	---	6	8.57
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	4	5.71	6	8.57	0	---	10	14.28
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 24. Living in Lake N and working in Duluth-Superior creates a major commuting problem during the winter months

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	2	2.85	9	12.85	0	---	11	15.71
Female	2	2.85	6	8.57	0	---	8	11.42
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	4	5.71	16	22.85	0	---	20	28.57
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
DISAGREE								
Male	6	8.57	18	25.71	0	---	24	34.28
Female	4	5.71	11	15.71	0	---	15	21.42
No information	0	---	4	5.71	3	4.28	7	10.00
Sub total	10	14.28	33	47.14	3	4.28	46	65.71
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 25. I would like to see state highway #27 routed through Lake N

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	6	8.57	18	25.71	0	---	24	34.28
Female	0	---	13	18.57	0	---	13	18.57
No information	0	---	3	4.28	2	2.85	5	7.14
Sub total	6	8.57	34	48.57	2	2.85	42	60.00
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
Female	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	1	1.42	5	7.14	0	---	6	8.57
DISAGREE								
Male	2	2.85	9	12.85	0	---	11	15.71
Female	4	2.85	4	5.71	0	---	8	11.42
No information	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42	2	2.85
Sub total	6	4.28	14	20.00	1	1.42	21	30.00
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	1	1.42
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 26. As a community, Lake N displays a great deal of pride and spirit

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	3	4.28	19	27.14	0	---	22	31.42
Female	2	2.85	16	22.85	0	---	18	25.71
No information	0	---	4	5.71	1	1.42	5	7.14
Sub total	5	7.14	39	55.71	1	1.42	45	64.28
NO OPINION								
Male	2	2.85	5	7.14	0	---	7	10.00
Female	2	2.85	1	1.42	0	---	3	4.28
No information	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42	2	2.85
Sub total	4	5.71	7	10.00	1	1.42	12	17.14
DISAGREE								
Male	2	2.85	6	8.57	0	---	8	11.42
Female	1	2.85	1	1.42	0	---	2	4.28
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	3	5.71	7	10.00	0	---	10	14.28
NO INFORMATION								
Male	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	1	1.42
Female	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	2	2.85	0	---	1	1.42	3	4.28
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 27. Most of the children in Lake N have a full understanding of the rich history of the community

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	0	---	7	10.00	0	---	7	10.00
Female	1	1.42	5	7.14	0	---	6	8.57
No information	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
Sub total	1	1.42	14	20.00	0	---	15	21.42
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	4	5.71	0	---	4	5.71
Female	1	1.42	4	5.71	0	---	5	7.14
No information	0	---	2	2.85	1	1.42	3	4.28
Sub total	1	1.42	10	14.28	1	1.42	12	17.14
DISAGREE								
Male	8	11.42	19	27.14	0	---	27	38.57
Female	4	5.71	9	12.85	0	---	13	18.57
No information	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42	2	2.85
Sub total	12	17.14	29	41.43	1	1.42	42	60.00
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 28. A village like Lake N should have an official historian to record the events and changes in the community

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	5	7.14	18	25.71	0	---	23	32.85
Female	4	5.71	9	12.85	0	---	13	18.57
No information	0	---	3	4.28	1	1.42	4	5.77
Sub total	9	12.85	30	42.85	1	1.42	40	57.14
NO OPINION								
Male	2	2.85	9	12.85	0	---	11	15.71
Female	1	1.42	8	11.42	0	---	9	12.85
No information	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42	2	2.85
Sub total	3	4.28	18	25.71	1	1.42	22	31.42
DISAGREE								
Male	1	1.42	3	4.28	0	---	4	5.71
Female	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42	2	2.85
Sub total	2	2.85	5	8.57	1	1.42	8	11.42
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 29. In Lake N, a man (or woman) is judged for himself and not by the clothes he wears

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	6	8.57	22	31.42	0	---	28	40.00
Female	5	7.14	12	17.14	0	---	17	24.28
No information	0	---	5	7.14	2	2.85	7	10.00
Sub total	11	15.71	39	55.71	2	2.85	52	74.28
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	4	5.71	0	---	4	5.71
Female	1	1.42	4	5.71	0	---	5	7.14
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	8	11.42	0	---	9	12.85
DISAGREE								
Male	2	2.85	4	5.71	0	---	6	8.57
Female	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	2	2.85	6	8.57	1	1.42	9	12.85
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 30. If a person needs a tool or some help he can always turn to his friends and neighbors in Lake N

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	7	10.00	25	35.71	0	---	32	45.71
Female	6	8.57	14	20.00	0	---	20	28.57
No information	0	---	5	7.14	2	2.85	7	10.00
Sub total	13	18.57	44	62.85	2	2.85	59	84.28
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	4	5.71	0	---	4	5.71
Female	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	7	10.00	0	---	7	10.00
DISAGREE								
Male	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	1	1.42	2	2.85	1	1.42	4	5.71
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 31. Most of the people in Lake N have relatives either in the community or the surrounding area

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	8	11.42	24	34.28	0	---	32	45.71
Female	5	7.14	13	18.57	0	---	18	25.71
No information	0	---	3	4.28	2	2.85	5	7.14
Sub total	13	18.57	40	57.14	2	2.85	55	78.57
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	4	5.71	0	---	4	5.71
Female	0	---	5	7.14	0	---	5	7.14
No information	0	---	2	2.85	1	1.42	3	4.28
Sub total	0	---	11	15.71	1	1.42	12	17.14
DISAGREE								
Male	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	1	1.42
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 32. The men of Lake N suffered a hardship with no coffee shop during the 1966-1967 winter season

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	4	5.71	13	18.57	0	---	17	24.28
Female	1	1.42	6	8.57	0	---	7	10.00
No information	0	---	2	2.85	1	1.42	3	4.28
Sub total	5	7.14	21	30.00	1	1.42	27	38.57
NO OPINION								
Male	1	1.42	6	8.57	0	---	7	10.00
Female	3	4.28	5	7.14	0	---	8	11.42
No information	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42	2	2.85
Sub total	4	5.71	12	17.14	1	1.42	17	24.28
DISAGREE								
Male	3	4.28	11	15.71	0	---	14	20.00
Female	2	2.85	7	10.00	0	---	9	12.85
No information	0	---	2	2.85	1	1.42	3	4.28
Sub total	5	7.14	20	28.57	1	1.42	26	37.14
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.21	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 33. The issue of whether or not to hold the Saturday dances has had the effect of creating several factions and a great deal of hard feelings

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	6	8.57	18	25.71	0	---	24	34.28
Female	4	5.71	12	17.14	0	---	16	22.85
No information	0	---	3	4.28	2	2.85	5	7.14
Sub total	10	14.28	33	47.14	2	2.85	45	64.28
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	5	7.14	0	---	5	7.14
Female	1	1.42	6	8.57	0	---	7	10.00
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	1	1.42	12	17.14	0	---	13	18.57
DISAGREE								
Male	2	2.85	6	8.57	0	---	8	11.42
Female	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42	2	2.85
Sub total	3	4.28	7	10.00	1	1.42	11	15.71
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 34. The best way to get the local news in a community the size of Lake N is by word of mouth

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREED								
Male	4	5.71	12	17.14	0	---	16	22.85
Female	5	7.14	6	8.57	0	---	11	15.71
No information	0	---	3	4.28	2	2.85	5	7.14
Sub total	9	12.85	21	30.00	2	2.85	32	45.71
NO OPINION								
Male	1	1.42	5	7.14	0	---	6	8.57
Female	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	7	10.00	0	---	8	11.42
DISAGREE								
Male	3	4.28	12	17.14	0	---	15	21.42
Female	1	1.42	9	12.85	0	---	10	14.28
No information	0	---	2	2.85	1	1.42	3	4.28
Sub total	4	5.71	23	32.85	1	1.42	28	40.00
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 35. Television has reduced the amount and frequency of house-to-house visitations

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREED								
Male	4	5.71	24	34.28	0	---	28	40.00
Female	3	4.28	14	20.00	0	---	17	24.28
No information	0	---	4	5.71	1	1.42	5	7.14
Sub total	7	10.00	42	60.00	1	1.42	50	71.42
NO OPINION								
Male	1	1.42	2	2.85	0	---	3	4.28
Female	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	2	2.85	4	5.71	0	---	6	8.57
DISAGREE								
Male	3	4.28	4	5.71	0	---	7	10.00
Female	2	2.85	3	4.28	0	---	5	7.14
No information	0	---	0	---	2	2.85	2	2.85
Sub total	5	7.14	7	10.00	2	2.85	14	20.00
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 36. The Lake N telephone exchange is unsatisfactory because it is unreliable

Sex/ Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREED								
Male	2	2.85	5	7.14	0	---	7	10.00
Female	3	4.28	2	2.85	0	---	5	7.14
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	5	7.14	8	11.42	0	---	13	18.57
NO OPINION								
Male	1	1.42	3	4.28	0	---	4	5.71
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	4	5.71	0	---	5	7.14
DISAGREE								
Male	4	5.71	22	31.42	0	---	26	37.14
Female	3	4.28	15	21.42	0	---	18	25.71
No information	0	---	4	5.71	3	4.28	7	10.00
Sub total	7	10.00	41	58.57	3	4.28	51	72.85
NO INFORMATION								
Male	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	1	1.42
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	1	1.42
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 37. I am pleased to hear the the Village Board is considering installing a village water and sewage system

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREED								
Male	4	5.71	22	31.42	0	---	26	37.14
Female	1	1.42	12	17.14	0	---	13	18.57
No information	0	---	3	4.28	3	4.28	6	8.57
Sub total	5	7.14	37	52.85	3	4.28	45	64.28
NO OPINION								
Male	2	2.85	5	7.14	0	---	7	10.00
Female	3	4.28	3	4.28	0	---	6	8.57
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	5	7.14	9	12.85	0	---	14	20.00
DISAGREE								
Male	2	2.85	3	4.28	0	---	5	7.14
Female	2	2.85	3	4.28	0	---	5	7.14
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	4	5.71	7	10.00	0	---	11	15.71
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 38. Lake N makes full use of its Auditorium and other public facilities

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREED								
Male	4	5.71	19	27.14	0	---	23	32.85
Female	4	5.71	15	21.42	0	---	19	27.14
No information	0	---	5	7.14	1	1.42	6	8.57
Sub total	8	11.42	39	55.71	1	1.42	48	68.57
NO OPINION								
Male	1	1.42	2	2.85	0	---	3	4.28
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	2	2.85	0	---	3	4.28
DISAGREE								
Male	3	4.28	9	12.85	0	---	12	17.14
Female	2	2.85	3	4.28	0	---	5	7.14
No information	0	---	0	---	2	2.85	2	2.85
Sub total	5	7.14	12	17.14	2	2.85	19	27.14
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 39. The tourists who use the village park and camping area are more trouble than they are worth to the community

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	2	2.85	4	5.71	0	---	6	8.57
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	2	2.85	5	7.14	1	1.42	8	11.42
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	7	10.00	0	---	7	10.00
Female	3	4.28	6	8.57	0	---	9	12.85
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	3	4.28	13	18.57	0	---	16	22.85
DISAGREE								
Male	6	8.75	19	27.14	0	---	25	35.71
Female	3	4.28	10	14.28	0	---	13	18.57
No information	0	---	5	7.14	2	2.85	7	10.00
Sub total	9	12.85	34	48.57	2	2.85	45	64.28
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 40. The fine road system, public beach, and parks are evidence of a good government in Lake N

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	5	7.14	25	35.71	0	---	30	42.85
Female	5	7.14	14	20.00	0	---	19	27.14
No information	0	---	4	5.71	1	1.42	5	7.14
Sub total	10	14.28	43	61.42	1	1.42	54	77.14
NO OPINION								
Male	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
Female	1	1.42	2	2.85	0	---	3	4.28
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	2	2.85	3	4.28	1	1.42	6	8.57
DISAGREE								
Male	2	2.85	3	4.28	0	---	5	7.14
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	2	2.85	5	7.14	0	---	7	10.00
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	0	---	2	2.85	1	1.42	3	4.28
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 41. The village of Lake N is run by a few powerful people and no one else knows what is going on

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	6	8.57	11	15.71	0	---	17	24.28
Female	2	2.85	6	8.57	0	---	8	11.42
No information	0	---	3	4.28	3	4.28	6	8.57
Sub total	8	11.42	20	28.57	3	4.28	31	44.28
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	5	7.14	0	---	5	7.14
Female	3	4.28	2	2.85	0	---	5	7.14
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	3	4.28	7	10.00	0	---	10	14.28
DISAGREE								
Male	2	2.85	14	20.00	0	---	16	22.85
Female	1	1.42	9	12.85	0	---	10	14.28
No information	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	---
Sub total	3	4.28	25	35.71	0	---	28	40.00
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 42. Summer residents should take a more active role in the affairs of Lake N

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	3	4.28	19	27.14	0	---	22	31.42
Female	1	1.42	7	10.00	0	---	8	11.42
No information	0	---	3	4.28	1	1.42	4	5.71
Sub total	4	5.71	29	41.43	1	1.42	34	48.57
NO OPINION								
Male	1	1.42	5	7.14	0	---	6	8.57
Female	4	5.71	5	7.14	0	---	9	12.85
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	5	7.14	11	15.71	0	---	16	22.85
DISAGREE								
Male	4	5.71	6	8.57	0	---	10	14.28
Female	1	1.42	4	5.71	0	---	5	7.14
No information	0	---	1	1.42	2	2.85	3	4.28
Sub total	5	7.14	11	15.71	2	2.85	18	25.71
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 43. Providing recreation clubs for the youth of Lake N has helped to keep them from getting bored or into some kind of trouble

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	6	8.57	22	31.42	0	---	28	40.00
Female	3	4.28	12	17.14	0	---	15	21.42
No information	0	---	5	7.14	2	2.85	7	10.00
Sub total	9	12.85	39	55.71	2	2.85	50	71.42
NO OPINION								
Male	1	1.42	5	7.14	0	---	6	8.57
Female	1	1.42	4	5.71	0	---	5	7.14
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	2	2.85	9	12.85	0	---	11	15.71
DISAGREE								
Male	1	1.42	3	4.28	0	---	4	5.71
Female	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	2	2.85	4	5.71	1	1.42	7	10.00
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 44. Police protection in Lake N is quite adequate

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	5	7.14	22	31.42	0	---	27	38.57
Female	4	5.71	9	12.85	0	---	13	18.57
No information	0	---	4	5.71	3	4.28	7	10.00
Sub total	9	12.85	35	50.00	3	4.28	47	67.14
NO OPINION								
Male	2	2.85	2	2.85	0	---	4	5.71
Female	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	2	2.85	6	8.57	0	---	8	11.42
DISAGREE								
Male	1	1.42	6	8.57	0	---	7	10.00
Female	2	2.85	6	8.57	0	---	8	11.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	3	4.28	12	17.14	0	---	15	21.42
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 45. Lake N has one of the finest Volunteer Fire Departments in the area

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	6	8.57	28	40.00	0	---	34	48.57
Female	5	7.14	17	24.28	0	---	22	31.42
No information	0	---	5	7.14	3	4.28	8	11.42
Sub total	11	15.71	50	71.42	3	4.28	64	91.42
NO OPINION								
Male	1	1.42	2	2.85	0	---	3	4.28
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	2	2.85	0	---	3	4.28
DISAGREE								
Male	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	1	1.42
Female	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	2	2.85	1	1.42	0	---	3	4.28
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 46. The fear of having property destroyed or stolen is not as great in Lake N as it is in large cities

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	7	10.00	26	37.14	0	---	33	47.14
Female	6	8.57	16	22.85	0	---	22	31.42
No information	0	---	5	7.14	3	4.28	8	11.42
Sub total	13	18.57	47	67.14	3	4.28	63	90.00
NO OPINION								
Male	1	1.42	3	4.28	0	---	4	5.71
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	3	4.28	0	---	4	5.71
DISAGREE								
Male	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Female	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 47. Knowing that the village ambulance is available when it is needed reduces the fear of being twenty-five miles from medical care

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	6	8.57	29	41.43	0	---	35	50.00
Female	5	7.14	16	22.85	0	---	21	30.00
No information	0	---	5	7.14	3	4.28	8	11.42
Sub total	11	15.71	50	71.42	3	4.28	64	91.42
NO OPINION								
Male	2	2.85	0	---	0	---	2	2.85
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	2	2.85	1	1.42	0	---	3	4.28
DISAGREE								
Male	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	1	1.42
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 48. More interested and active people are needed in Lake N to help with youth and civic activities

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	6	8.57	26	37.14	0	---	32	45.71
Female	5	7.14	15	21.42	0	---	20	28.75
No information	0	---	5	7.14	2	2.85	7	10.00
Sub Total	11	15.71	46	65.71	2	2.85	59	84.28
NO OPINION								
Male	2	2.85	2	2.85	0	---	4	5.71
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	2	2.85	3	4.28	1	1.42	6	8.57
DISAGREE								
Male	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
Female	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	3	4.28	0	---	4	5.71
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 49. People involved in civic activities must expect, and get, severe criticism

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	5	7.14	23	23.85	0	---	28	40.00
Female	5	7.14	14	20.00	0	---	19	27.14
No information	0	---	3	4.28	2	2.85	5	7.14
Sub total	10	14.28	40	57.14	2	2.85	52	74.28
NO OPINION								
Male	1	1.42	2	2.85	0	---	3	4.28
Female	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42	2	2.85
Sub total	1	1.42	5	7.14	1	1.42	7	10.00
DISAGREE								
Male	2	2.85	5	7.14	0	---	7	10.00
Female	1	1.42	2	2.85	0	---	3	4.28
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	3	4.28	8	11.42	0	---	11	15.71
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 50. Without the Community Association, Lake N would be a ghost town

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	1	1.42	14	20.00	0	---	15	21.42
Female	1	1.42	7	10.00	0	---	8	11.42
No information	0	---	5	7.14	3	4.28	8	11.42
Sub total	2	2.85	26	37.14	3	4.28	31	44.28
NO OPINION								
Male	1	1.42	4	5.71	0	---	5	7.14
Female	3	4.28	3	4.28	0	---	6	8.57
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	4	5.71	7	10.00	0	---	11	15.71
DISAGREE								
Male	6	8.57	12	17.14	0	---	18	25.71
Female	2	2.85	7	10.00	0	---	9	12.85
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	8	11.42	19	27.14	0	---	27	38.57
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 51. The Garden Club gives people with a common interest a chance to get together as well as to serve the community

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	7	10.00	26	37.14	0	---	33	47.14
Female	6	8.57	17	24.28	0	---	23	32.85
No information	0	---	5	7.14	3	4.28	8	11.42
Sub total	13	18.57	48	68.57	3	4.28	64	91.42
NO OPINION								
Male	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	2	2.85	0	---	3	4.28
DISAGREE								
Male	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 52. The churches of Lake N provide a place for families to get together

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	7	10.00	30	42.85	0	---	37	52.85
Female	5	7.14	17	24.28	0	---	22	31.42
No information	0	---	4	5.71	2	2.85	6	8.57
Sub total	12	17.14	51	72.85	2	2.85	65	92.85
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	1	1.42	2	2.85	0	---	3	4.28
DISAGREE								
Male	1	1.42	0	---	0	---	1	1.42
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42	2	2.85
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 53. There is not enough cooperation among the churches of Lake N

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	1	1.42	2	2.85	0	---	3	4.28
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	1	1.42	4	5.71	0	---	5	7.14
NO OPINION								
Male	3	4.28	13	18.57	0	---	16	22.85
Female	2	2.85	7	10.00	0	---	9	12.85
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	5	7.14	21	30.00	0	---	26	37.14
DISAGREE								
Male	4	5.71	15	21.42	0	---	19	27.14
Female	4	5.71	10	14.28	0	---	14	20.00
No information	0	---	3	4.28	2	2.85	5	7.14
Sub total	8	11.42	28	40.00	2	2.85	38	54.28
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 54. Lake N's churches should do more for the older and younger members of their congregations

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	4	5.71	9	12.85	0	---	13	18.57
Female	3	4.28	6	8.57	0	---	9	12.85
No information	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
Sub total	7	10.00	18	25.71	0	---	25	35.71
NO OPINION								
Male	3	4.28	17	24.28	0	---	20	28.57
Female	1	1.42	7	10.00	0	---	8	11.42
No information	0	---	2	2.85	1	1.42	3	4.28
Sub total	4	5.71	26	37.14	1	1.42	31	44.28
DISAGREE								
Male	1	1.42	3	4.28	0	---	4	5.71
Female	2	2.85	4	5.71	0	---	6	8.57
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	3	4.28	7	10.00	1	1.42	11	15.71
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	0	---	2	2.85	1	1.42	3	4.28
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 55. I would like to see more young families living in Lake N

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	6	8.57	22	31.42	0	---	28	40.00
Female	5	7.14	16	22.85	0	---	21	30.00
No information	0	---	5	7.14	3	4.28	8	11.42
Sub total	11	15.71	43	61.42	3	4.28	57	81.43
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	7	10.00	0	---	7	10.00
Female	1	1.42	1	1.42	0	---	2	2.85
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	1	1.42	8	11.42	0	---	9	12.85
DISAGREE								
Male	2	2.85	1	1.42	0	---	3	4.28
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	2	2.85	2	2.85	0	---	4	5.71
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 56. I would like to see Lake N become a retirement community

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	1	1.42	7	10.00	0	---	8	11.42
Female	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
No information	0	---	3	4.28	0	---	3	4.28
Sub total	1	1.42	13	18.57	0	---	14	20.00
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	5	7.14	0	---	5	7.14
Female	3	4.28	3	4.28	0	---	6	8.57
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	3	4.28	8	11.42	1	1.42	12	17.14
DISAGREE								
Male	7	10.00	18	25.71	0	---	25	35.71
Female	3	4.28	11	15.71	0	---	14	20.00
No information	0	---	2	2.85	2	2.85	4	5.71
Sub total	10	14.28	31	44.28	2	2.85	43	61.42
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Table 57. I expect to see the population of Lake N increase in the next ten years

Sex/Age	-35		+35		No information		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
AGREE								
Male	8	11.42	20	28.57	0	---	28	40.00
Female	2	2.85	10	14.28	0	---	12	17.14
No information	0	---	4	5.71	2	2.85	6	8.57
Sub total	10	14.28	34	48.57	2	2.85	46	65.71
NO OPINION								
Male	0	---	4	5.71	0	---	4	5.71
Female	2	2.85	5	7.14	0	---	7	10.00
No information	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Sub total	2	2.85	10	14.28	0	---	12	17.14
DISAGREE								
Male	0	---	5	7.14	0	---	5	7.14
Female	2	2.85	2	2.85	0	---	4	5.71
No information	0	---	0	---	1	1.42	1	1.42
Sub total	2	2.85	7	10.00	1	1.42	10	14.28
NO INFORMATION								
Male	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
Female	0	---	1	1.42	0	---	1	1.42
No information	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---
Sub total	0	---	2	2.85	0	---	2	2.85
TOTAL	14	20.00	53	75.71	3	4.28	70	100.00

Conclusion

The intent of the present chapter has been to describe the community of Lake N according to its objective and subjective properties. The first part of the chapter, given over to the discussion of objective community properties, has considered six community subsystems: 1) family, 2) casual interaction, 3) voluntary associations, 4) formal associations, 5) economic enterprises, and 6) decision making bodies. These subsystems were then reconsidered in terms of the social system with brief mention of the external social system linkages. As suggested, the objective properties will be used as the data and background for the analysis of community social power and its relation to socio-cultural integration which is the topic of the next chapter.

Part Two of the present chapter has been a presentation of responses to the 50 attitudinal statements included on the public opinion questionnaire. The response to each attitudinal statement is presented in tabular form by age and sex. References are made to the tables in Chapters Five through Eight. It is the researcher's contention that these attitudinal statements, included as part of the community description, are the clearest declaration available of public opinion on topics of relevance to the community of Lake N. As such, the responses to the attitudinal statements represent the subjective properties of the Lake N community description. In a manner similar to the proposed use of the objective community characteristics, the subjective properties will also provide data and background for the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SOCIO-CULTURAL INTEGRATION, CHANGE, AND SOCIAL POWER

The three concepts of concern in the present chapter were explicated toward the end of Chapter Three. In this explication, the concepts, (integration, change, and social power) were operationalized in a manner considered appropriate to an exploratory-descriptive study. A review of the operationalization of the three concepts is the first consideration of the present chapter because the present chapter gains its direction from the manner in which the three concepts are operationalized.

Socio-cultural integration, defined as a functional interdependence of parts, is subdivided into three modes: 1) operative integration, 2) power integration, and 3) value integration (46, p. 60). Operative integration refers to the interdependence that occurs both symbiotically and intentionally in the acts of day-to-day living. Power integration is based on the interest constellations giving rise to an interdependence related to issue or activity outcomes. Value integration stems from the attitude and value orientation agreement such that actors are interdependent as a result of their common definitions and viewpoints.

Consideration of socio-cultural change, the departure from the maintenance of system equilibrium, is viewed according to the system flexibility concepts of "role," "social control," and "socialization." Role relates to the operative mode of integration in that interdependence in the day-to-day acts of living are produced by role congruence. When role, the position specific expectation for behavior, is either not well defined or defined by the external system, the likelihood of socio-cultural change

is increased. Social control is linked to power integration such that the superordinate interest constellations attempt to maintain social control to serve their ends. To the extent that social control is either not affected within the social system or is exercised by the external system, power change is highly probable and a low power integration may be inferred. Socialization and value integration are articulated in a similar manner with high value integration decreasing the variation in socialization whereas low value integration increases the flexibility in socialization producing still a lower value integration. Because of the ways in which the three system flexibility concepts parallel the three modes of integration, it is possible to consider three change categories: 1) operative change, 2) power change, and 3) value change.

An examination of the relation of power integration to operative integration, value integration, operative change, value change, and power change is the purpose of the present chapter. Much of the content of the two previous chapters will provide the background and particulars for this examination of power integration, although additional information about the community of Lake N will be introduced as well. The most important introduction of new information is in the form of the five public issues (teenage dance, school bond issue, sewage system, drainage ditches, village elections) in which power integration may be seen more clearly. Following the discussion of the five issues, the relations between power integration and the other integration modes and change categories will be examined.

The five issues

Without exception, the most controversial issue in Lake N was the question of whether or not to continue the Saturday night teenage dances sponsored by the Community Association. (Refer to Table 33). The dances, held every Saturday night from the Memorial Day weekend through the Labor Day weekend, have taken place in the Auditorium, and before that in the pavilion, for the past fifty years. There has been some local opposition to the dances during the last twenty years because the dances changed in character from community family affairs to money making activities catering to teenagers from outside the community. Problems of social control are most frequently mentioned by those opposed to the dances with a street fight death of a 56 year old Lake N resident in 1947 cited as the sort of problem associated with holding the dances. The slain resident was returning home from an Odd Fellows Lodge meeting when he tried to stop two eighteen year old intoxicated youths from vandalizing a gas station and in so doing was struck by one of the youths. He died from the skull fracture which he received. Although the dances continued after the 1947 incident, the death of the local resident is still associated with the dances in the thoughts of many of the townspeople. It should be further noted that the decline of the Odd Fellows Lodge seems to be related to this beating death and in the same incident the tavern operator who is not Village Board President was fined for selling liquor to the two youths (118, June-August, 1947). Few community residents talk freely about the details of the 1947 beating death but some do refer to it as the sort of event that could recur.

Opposition to the Saturday night teenage dances was rekindled during the 1964 summer season when dance promotion brought over 1,000 teenagers, on two separate occasions, instead of the usual three hundred. On one of these occasions the men's washroom door was inadvertently left locked with the result of what community residents define as unpleasant behavior on the part of the male teenagers. The Village Board first had a series of discussions on the matter in its meetings and then held a public meeting to determine the public sentiment on the question of continuing the Saturday night teenage dances. During the public meeting there was a show of emotion by those favoring the dance and those opposed to the dance with the result that an "advisory referendum" was placed before the voters on March 8, 1966. The Village Board President came out against the dance, stating publicly that the teenagers were, "trespassing on private property, using it for restrooms, drinking, and abusing property" and added that people of Lake N "like the quiet life." Countering these arguments, the Community Association sent a letter to all of the voters stating that the dance disturbances were unfortunate but rare in the history of the dances and were blown out of proportion by those opposed to the dances. Some residents talked about the question of the teenage dance most openly while others refused to discuss the matter. One respondent declared that the referendum would carry by as much as 80 per cent of the vote. While the outcome was not that favorable, the referendum supported the continuation of the dances with 151 "yes" votes to 65 "no" votes. One senior adult informant attributed the majority of the "no" votes to the "older people" of the community.

Because of the local support for the teenage dance, the Community Association continued with its sponsorship of the Saturday night dances,

using caution not to attract large crowds and making sure that a sufficient force of special officers was available to aid the Village Constable. Continuation of the dances did not entirely curb the controversy, although many people said the matter was settled by the referendum outcome. In early August the question of the dances became an open issue again with the receipt by the Community Association Secretary of a warning from the Village Clerk regarding the damage to the Auditorium with specific mention of breakage in the men's washroom. At the Community Association meeting, where this letter was read, one of the Community Association members noted that the damage mentioned in the letter had been done over one month before because he remembered seeing it that long ago and another Community Association member, who is also a Village Trustee, stated that the warning letter had never been discussed at a Village Board meeting. Less than one week later the Community Association was told to cancel all dances planned for the Auditorium indefinitely. The order to cancel the Saturday night dances was given less than one week prior to the arrival of the Duquesne University Tambouritzans, a Slavic music group that has had its summer base in Lake N for the past twenty years. With the summer season nearing its end, the Community Association did not fight the order to discontinue the dances but instead made plans for the sponsorship of the Tambouritzan Labor Day concert.

Less controversy surrounded the school bond proposal as far less time elapsed between its becoming an issue and its temporary resolution. Promotion of the bond issue was slow with the informational booklet from the Superintendent coming out on November 16th, 1966, only thirteen days before the referendum was held. Although many voters in Lake N and the other

municipalities involved were aware that the school bond proposal was being contemplated, the sentiment was expressed in Lake N that not enough time has been given to the discussion of the question. The sentiment of the complaint was coupled with statements of lack of control over the spending of the bond issue money and a desire for assurances that the Lake N school would be one of the kindergarten locations.

Passage of the school bond proposal was the beginning of renewed controversy with the vote tallied at 351 in favor and 326 opposed. Petitions were circulated in Lake N and in other municipalities to stop the sale of the comprehensive bonds until several questions concerning the expenditure of the $800,000 could be made clear. It would appear that the objection that gave rise to the petition and in turn blocked the sale of bonds was not an opposition to educational improvement (refer to Table 19) but, instead, it was a rejection of the centralization of educational facilities in one of the twelve communities constituting the consolidated school district.

Just reaching the stage of serious consideration, the sewage system question was prompted by a recognition that with an increase in the population having septic tanks and dry wells, especially in the platted village, the danger of a local sanitation problem and pollution problem in the lake had to be recognized. Without the availability of federal funds to aid communities in acquiring adequate sewage systems, the recognition of the sanitation and pollution problems would not have had serious attention. Lake N's experience with support through the Federal Accelerated Public Works Program in the $36,000 remodeling of the Auditorium is favorably evaluated by community residents and there appears to be similar support

for the sewage project. (Refer to Table 37).

Three major concerns of the residents of Lake N regarding the proposed sewage system are: 1) How much will it cost each taxpayer? 2) Who will be served by the sewage system? and 3) Will the effluents of the sewage treatment be harmful to the local fish and wildlife? The first two concerns are directly related and both are partly related to the third. Cost to the taxpayer will rise the farther outside of the platted village the sewage system is run. As mentioned previously, the homes in Lake N are distributed along the lakefront in a concentrated fashion separated by the lake. (Refer to Map 1). Installation of a sewage system around the entire lake would be financially prohibitive. Installation of a sewage system in just the platted village only partly resolves the sanitation and pollution problems and discriminates against those living outside the platted village by forcing them to pay part of the cost of the sewage system from which they are not able to derive any direct benefit.

In the last chapter it was noted that the "outdoorsman" status-role is important for the Lake N males and is accepted by the Lake N females. The sewage treatment question of releasing effluents into the main flowage out of the lake raises serious questions regarding the possibility of fish kill. The flowage in question joins one of the best trout streams in Northcentral Wisconsin where the water is sufficiently pure that it may be drunk directly from the stream. With the possibility that sewage treatment in Lake N may alter the conditions of local wildlife and habitat, it is not surprising that the outdoorsmen are skeptical of simple schemes of sewage treatment that have a high cost in loss of natural resources.

It was previously mentioned that Lake N has an excellent road system

with many miles of paved secondary roads. The drainage ditch question is said to have originated five years ago when the village resurfaced the south lake road and in the resurfacing also built up the roadbed in an area where there is a swampy area on the south side of the road and cottages on the north side of the road facing the lake. Cottage owners in the area in question claim that the building up of the roadbed changed the drainage systems so that an open trench running from the swamp to the lake does not function properly, resulting in unpleasant odors from both the ditch and the swamp during the warm summer months. Village Board members take the stand that the drainage ditch never worked properly and that the improper drainage of the swamp has always been a problem. A solution to the problem would be to reroute the drainage ditch but the village cannot get easement rights in the area where the swamp drainage ditch should be placed for effective drainage. Nothing can be done to improve the existing drainage according to the road and bridge committee of the Village Board. An acquisition of easement rights for relocating the ditch is legally impossible with the result that the drainage ditch remains ineffective.

Each year the cottage owners affected by the public works problem appear at the Village Board meeting to lodge their formal complaint. The cottages in the area in question are pleasant summer homes owned by professionals from Superior and the arrival of these professionals at the Village Board meeting creates a situation of prestige status contrasts. Village Board meetings are run firmly but without display by the Village Board President neatly clad in a sweater and casual slacks. Other Village Board members would be similarly attired or dressed in lumberjack shirts

and work slacks. By contrast, the professionals would be dressed in business suits with white shirts and ties and the lawyer in the group would be conspicuously holding some legal appearing papers. The Village Board knew the visitors' purpose but instead of dispensing with the regular order of business in order to accommodate the cottage owners, would process both "old business" and "correspondence" before the drainage ditch question could be considered as a part of the "new business." The lawyer would state the case for the cottage owners and the Village Board President would state the position of the Village Board. In response to this, the lawyer would refer to some statutes that were said to have a bearing on the question, to which the Village Board President would respond by directing the lawyer to see the Village Attorney, a Superior lawyer and a Lake N cottage owner. With the complaint lodged, the professionals would leave the meeting and the character of the meeting would change to a scene of tension release with the comment made by one Trustee, "Just like the last time they showed up at a meeting," while other trustees either reaffirmed the Village Board position on the question or made remarks about the departed visitors. With the suggestion by the Village Board President that the drainage ditch be resurveyed, the meeting would turn to other new business before concluding.

Nomination and election of village officers is the last of the five issues that will provide a background for the examination of social power within Lake N. Several weeks prior to the caucus where the nominations for village officers are made, notices announcing the time and place of the caucus are posted, and casual conversation turns to local politics. In 1967 the caucus was begun at 8:10 P.M. with the reading of the minutes

from the previous caucus. Nominations for the Village Board President position came in rapid succession with the incumbent and a Community Association activist having their names placed in nomination. For the office of Trustee, a former Lake N Village Board President was nominated, a nomination was made and declined, the man that nominated the Community Association activist for Village Board President was nominated by the Lake N member of the school board, a young adult was nominated by a young adult (son-in-law of the incumbent Village Board President) who was in turn nominated by the man who nominated the incumbent Village Board President, and the nomination of one of the elders of the Swedish Baptist Church by the man who nominated the Community Association activist for Village Board President closed the nominations for Trustee. The incumbent Village Clerk was nominated by the Lake N member of the school board to retain his office and he was opposed by a Trustee whose term was not yet expired with the nomination placed by a supporter of the incumbent Village Board President. The offices of Treasurer, Assessor, and Justice were unopposed and the caucus faltered for only a moment when the Constable declined renomination and an alternate had to be found for that position. At 8:25 P.M. the caucus adjourned.

Between the last week of February and the first week of April there was a great deal of discussion spent on the merits of the candidates with the offices of Village Board President and Village Clerk being contested most openly. Both candidates for Village Board President mailed letters to the voters and could be seen working to influence what was predicted to be a close election. For the first time that anyone could remember, signs were used in an election campaign with the contender for Village Clerk

employing the new strategy.

Results of the election supported the prediction of a close vote for Village Board President with the incumbent winning by a vote of 116 to 105 over the Community Association activist. The winning Trustees were the incumbent, the elder in the Swedish Baptist Chruch, and the man who nominated the Community Association activist for Village Board President. In the race for Village Clerk the incumbent was defeated by the challenger 122 to 109, creating a vacancy on the Village Board which was given to the past Village Board President who received the fourth highest total votes for Trustee. With all other village offices uncontended, the incumbents and the new Constable reached easy victories. On the day following the election the Village Board President was observed discussing the election results with the man who nominated the incumbent Trustee and he appeared quite upset at his small margin of victory but seemed pleased that his candidate for Village Clerk was successful.

Each of the five issues will be referred to in the analysis of social power, integration, and change taken up in the balance of the present chapter. In order of consideration, power integration will be examined in its relation with the following: 1) operative integration, 2) value integration, 3) operative change, 4) value change, and 5) power change. The analysis will also treat disintegration and maintenance as a central part of the analytical concern; however, the more exhaustive holistic relations between the total community and social power will be postponed until the concluding chapter.

Power integration and operative integration

Power integration has been defined as interdependence based on interest constellations. What are the most evident interest constellations found in Lake N? One division of the population that has been repeatedly mentioned is the part time resident and the full time resident distinction. Part time residents do not constitute an integrated whole but instead may be seen as segmented into part time resident subgroups lacking overall system characteristics. Cottages in the same area, common recreational activities, and friendship transfers from home places reinforce the subgroups which are themselves high in operative integration but low in power integration. As the subgroups do not constitute a system they must be considered disintegrated when viewed as a whole.

The best example of the low power integration of the part time residents comes from the drainage ditch issue. If the part time residents constituted an integrated whole as in the case of some vacation communities they could control the means-ends of the full time residents. The drainage ditch issue shows an operatively integrated group of cottage owners attempting a power transfer from the external system to overcome the low power integration that they maintain in relation to Lake N. Even though they share the common interest relative to the swamp and drainage ditch, the issue is not sufficient to move the cottage owners toward action that would accord them the means of social power in the Lake N community. Moreover, the part time residents are deprived of legal franchise because they are part time residents of the community. With few means of social power at their disposal, the segmented part time residents have little hope of

achieving their desired outcome except by appeal to the visible power actors within the community and possibly by legal and social power maneuverings in the external system.

Within the Lake N social system there appears to be a relatively high level of operative integration. As pointed out in Chapter Six, kin groups and church affiliations have an integrating impact on the community but they also have a segmenting result in that the actors are tied to other actors by family and church ties but separated from still other actors by differences in family and church membership. Kinship and church affiliation is not such that it works toward a segmentation and low system integration as is found among the part time residents, however. Instead, linkages between families and church are reinforced by casual interaction and associations.

Operative integration is being reordered by the power integration that has factionalized the Lake N community. The issue that gave rise to the power factions is the teenage dance issue. Community residents and associations are labled "pro" and "anti" dance, although some wish to withdraw from involvement in the controversy. Senior adults are largely anti-dance with females only indirectly engaging their voluntary associations in the confrontation. Senior adult males are not unified in their anti-dance stand and moreover they lack the power integration significantly to affect the issue. Like the senior adult males, adult males are not in agreement concerning the dance but they are most active in the controversy with some strongly identified with the Community Association and its support of the dance, and others, many of whom were past Odd Fellows, supporting the Village Board President in his anti-dance stand. The two interest

constellations were opposed in the dance referendum which favored the continuation of the dance, and in the election of village officers especially in the races for Village Board President and Village Clerk. Unlike the pro-dance results of the referendum, the village election retained the anti-dance leader as Village Board President and replaced the pro-dance Village Clerk with an anti-dance Village Clerk. Adult females are, according to the majority of female respondents willing to talk on the subject, in agreement with their husbands' stands on the dance question while young adults are overwhelmingly in favor of the dances as many of them either once attended the dances or are benefiting from the dances through employment of young adult males as special officers to keep the peace on Saturday night.

Social system integration is not decreased by the opposing interest constellations but is a conflict linkage between two factions each with high operative integration and power integration and each representing roughly half of the community residents rather than a single network of symbiotic and intentional cooperative linkages. Some individual actors and associations wish to refrain from the controversy because of the fear of economic boycott or the impairment of friendships but by so doing they are moved to a position of disintegration relative to the social system cooperative-conflict integration.

In summary, power integration is lacking for the part time residents as is operative integration. The segmented part time resident is operatively integrated but lacks power integration because of his short term residence and lack of access to the means of social power. Power integration within the Lake N community is described by two interest

constellations, one favoring the Saturday night dance and the other opposed to the dance. These factions are linked by conflict thereby creating two subsystems with high operative integration each in tension with the other.

Power integration and value integration

Value integration may be characterized by attitude agreement such that values are cultural standards and value orientations are commitments to these standards. Individual commitments to the values are structured by each actor's status complex and role set which is, to a greater or lesser extent, molded by his community. In the Lake N public opinion questionnaire, 32 per cent of the 50 questions had 75 per cent or greater unity of response and 70 per cent of the questions had 60 per cent or greater unity of response. (Refer to Tables 8 through 57). If unity of response, a high level of agreement or disagreement with the attitudinal statements, may be used as an indication of value integration, then Lake N may be said to have high value integration.

The high value integration of the Lake N social system is strained by the power integration such that the pro-dance faction favors the attraction of nonresidents to Lake N and the anti-dance faction favors modest promotion of the community, but as the Village Board President stated, people of Lake N "like the quiet life." New businesses and new families that fit into the way of life of Lake N are acceptable to the anti-dance faction thereby suggesting the presence of a high value integration reinforced by a high boundary maintenance. Outsiders, new activities, and new ideas are moderately sought after by the pro-dance faction, many of whom have lived outside of Lake N at one time, thereby suggesting a more

diverse and lower value integration produced by greater external system linkages and past contacts.

Power integration and value integration appear to be related as suggested above but the distinctions within the Lake N community in value integration are incidental when compared with that of the part time residents. Although part time residents may hold value orientations similar to each other, their lack of operative integration and power integration makes their potential for value integration unrealizable. Furthermore, the impact of the power integration of Lake N is relatively unimportant in terms of the current relations between the part time residents, but it could serve to unify the part time residents giving rise to high operative and power integration by presenting the part time resident with a common threat. The sewage issue may be used to illustrate this possibility.

Part of the value integration of Lake N is related to the "outdoorsman" status-role which in turn stands for a policy of protection of natural resources. Sanitation and pollution threat is recognized to be increasing and the availability of federal funds gives the community an opportunity to solve the problem. Both interest constellations within Lake N seem to be in agreement that a sewage system must be installed to insure the welfare of the people and the wildlife. (Refer to Table 37). Accomplishment of the goal of eliminating sanitation and pollution threats will be expensive and there is agreement within the community that the dumping of dangerous effluents is not acceptable for it has the same negative effect as the problem itself.

Part time residents are presently characterized by disunity but if they perceive that the full time residents are insisting on a public works

program that would result in a sharp rise in the taxes, the part time residents may find a rallying point around which to unify. Already the cottage owners have begun to express concern over the increases in the cost of maintaining cottages although Lake N has a history of low taxes and careful fiscal management. A new sewage system will require additional revenue, for although the availability of federal money makes the installation of a sewage system feasible, the federal money is contingent upon a local share of the expense that must be borne by the community. Part of the cost of the sewage system must therefore be passed along to the taxpayers. In Lake N, the majority of taxpayers are part time residents living outside of the platted village. The long range benefit that these part time residents will gain through the maintenance of a usable lake and the absence of a health hazard may be difficult to appreciate with the absence of a short range benefit. While the full time resident is agreed that the sewage system is necessary in that it is consistent with the "outdoorsman" status-role and with attachment to the community, part time residents are trying to keep down the costs of maintaining their cottages. By pushing for their shared goal the interest constellations of the full time community could force the part time residents to integrate their already similar value orientations through the creation of a part time resident association which would increase their operative integration and power integration. An integrated part time resident population would not complement the existing power integration of Lake N, a threat that has been acknowledged by leaders of both interest constellations. It may be seen that the threat of an integrated part time resident population acts as a power check on Lake N power integration.

To recapitulate, the value integration in Lake N seems to be high with some differences noted for the two main interest constellations. Value integration for the anti-dance group is higher than for the pro-dance group but the difference between the two is small when contrasted with the part time residents. The part time residents' value integration is low as is their operative integration and power integration, but all forms of integration may be increased if the power and value integration of the full time residents presents a threat to the part time residents. The manner in which the integration of part time residents may come about is only hypothetical as illustrated by the sewage treatment issue.

Power integration and operative changes

Operative change is related to role flexibility such that either the community does not define roles clearly or roles are primarily defined in the external system. Increasingly, Lake N has been faced with the external system's encroachment on role definition with systemic linkages to the external system diminishing the significance of the community boundary. Lake N residents active in the labor force are, with few exceptions, employed in Duluth-Superior. High school age youths attend a school outside of the community and many local associations are tied to the external system in one manner or another. An even more pervasive linkage to the external system is the part time resident and tourist tie that reorders community life during the summer season.

What effect does power integration have on these external system encroachments on the Lake N community boundary? As stated above, the

Community Association favors the influx of nonresidents to Lake N whereas the anti-dance faction approves of only selective attraction of outsiders. However, both interest constellations are in favor of federal aid for the sewage project thereby inviting still another type of involvement with the external system. The school bond proposal, among the five issues, seems to offer the most vivid example of the paradox of power integration action relative to operative change.

Power integration rests on operative integration, in part, and operative integration rests on stable patterns of role commitment. Yielding to the pressure from the external system and the practical demands of changes in educational requirements, Lake N has become a part of the consolidated school district. The bond issue may be seen as still another step in the change that took place with the formation of the consolidated school district in 1949. It is a change that is threatening operative integration by concentrating still more of the educational activity in another community. An expenditure of $800,000 in addition to the centralized education facility is viewed with favor in that it will benefit the community's youth but is rejected because it means an operative change for the community. Lake N would like to have a portion of the new education facility within its boundaries so that role definitions could be more easily influenced locally but the likelihood of its getting a share of the new education facility is remote. The petition to stop the sale of comprehensive bonds represents a paradox of a community wanting the benefit obtainable in the external system but being unwilling to pay the price in lower operative integration. Although operative change is illustrated in terms of the school bond proposal, the question involved is of far greater magnitude. The self

sufficient community is not realistic in the second half of the twentieth century if, in fact, it ever was. Interest constellations in Lake N might have some value integration differences but they are in agreement about the maintenance of operative integration. The question that is faced is how to maintain operative integration and adapt successfully to an external system that extracts a high cost in operative integration for the benefits it offers.

Power integration and value change

Just as operative change is related to the system flexibility concept of role, value change is tied to the system flexibility concept of socialization. Accordingly, as role definitions originate in the external system, socialization takes place within the external system or within the social system as invaded by the external system. The consolidated school and the school bond proposal illustrate one example of value change in Lake N and the dance question provides yet another example.

It was noted earlier that grade school age youngsters in Lake N have a high local identification as contrasted with the high school age youths. Included in the school bond proposal was a provision to create a kindergarten program for children within the school district but at the time of the bond issue the recommendation had not been made as to where the kindergartens should be located. Lake N recognized that a kindergarten program was necessary but the concern still prevailed that the local children would be transported out of Lake N. If the Lake N kindergarten age children were bussed to another location for their first school experience there would

be a high probability of modification in the high local identification that presently obtains for the grade school age youngsters. Although the location of the kindergarten outside of Lake N is a recognized threat, neither Lake N interest constellation is willing or able to curb the creation of the kindergarten program but they want the assurance that the socialization of local youths is going to take place within the community. As an alternative action, both interest constellations were instrumental in the "teen club" and "youth club" associations but due to the leadership problem, to be discussed below, the alternative action was not entirely successful in accomplishing the goal of local socialization maintenance.

Cottage owners have an effect on Lake N full time resident socialization but the extent of the effect is difficult to gauge. The presence of cottage owners as part time residents reorders community life (operative integration) and exposes full time residents to value orientations that differ from those found in Lake N among the part time residents. However, the difference between the value orientations of the Lake N full time and part time residents is not as great as the value orientation differences between the teenage dance crowd and the combined residence groupings.

A brief description of a "typical" Lake N Saturday night dance will give an understanding of some of the attributes of the teenage value orientation. Dancers arrive on motorcycles and in noisy cars as well as by various other modes of transportation. Some males cluster outside of the Auditorium in order to watch the short skirted girls making frequent trips to the Dairy Queen stand and the hot dog stand. On the dance floor the boys and girls are pressed together because of the congestion of the place but dance apart from each other in the manner of the popular dance movements.

On the fringe of the dance floor are young girls dancing with each other and friendship groups seated on the benches that line the Auditorium wall. Two blocks away from the Auditorium, the music of the rock and roll band is heard as plainly as if a person was listening to his own radio at a moderate volume. Because the music is audible outside the Auditorium, the grassy hill directly behind the Auditorium is inviting to many couples who spend much of the Saturday evening sprawled on the grass while among the parked cars teenagers may be seen drinking the liquor that they have brought to the dance with them. The following excerpt from a high school essay illustrates what the dances are to one of the youths who attended them.

> Lake N is a fabulous place to visit on a summer Saturday night. There are women, liquor, and fights. With all that you can't help but have fun.
>
> You usually start drinking before you go, so that by the time you get there you are feeling pretty good. Since you never stop drinking until the dance is over, you really feel "bad off." It's mostly boys that drink but some girls do too.
>
> The cops are all over the place during the dance. The county cops, the State Patrol and the Lake N cops are watching the dance and patroling the roads. They stop speeding cars and fights and pick up kids for drinking. If they find any booze they will take it and fine you $13 for possession of liquor.

Saturday night is the most active night of the week in Lake N and a good share of the activity takes place at the Village Justice Court and Police Station. The Justice, a Community Association activist who will not permit his teenage son to attend the dances, presides at a number of hearings each evening and because there is no facility for retaining the youths they are fined and released. Accordingly, a "troublemaker" can come before the Justice Court several times in an evening. The Village Justice is not alone among the local residents putting the Saturday night

dances off limits for their children. Boys' Camp employees are also restricted in this regard. As only a small number of local youths attend the dances, the majority of the teenagers come from the external system and primarily from Duluth-Superior. Because the teenagers from the external system dominate the dances, control over the socialization within Lake N is reduced and flexibility of socialization is increased with some local youths attending the dances, receiving external socialization influence, and passing their resulting altered value orientations to other local youths who have not attended the dances.

The power integration controversy between the two interest constellations has already been dealt with. Value change is a primary factor in bringing the two interest constellations into conflict with the anti-dance faction convinced that the dances have become injurious to local interests and should therefore be curtailed. The pro-dance group does not fail to see the value change but contends that Lake N would be a ghost town without the dances. (Refer to Table 50).

In summary, it is clear that socialization is increasingly being directed from the external system with the probability that kindergarten age youngsters will be exposed to external system influences by attending school for the first time in the external system. Also, youths in Lake N are exposed to socialization influences that alter local value orientations as a result of the Saturday night dances. In relation to the first question, there seems to be agreement that socialization should be local but the second question provides a primary basis for the division between the two interest constellations. Both interest constellations seem sensitive to value change with the anti-dance faction being most sensitive.

Power integration and power change

Lake N power integration has been described as consisting of two interest constellations. The anti-dance faction controls the two most influential public offices, that of the Village Board President and the Village Clerk, as well as three Trustee positions. By contrast, the pro-dance faction controls non-voting positions of Justice and Treasurer and three Trustee positions. The other village office holders attempt to remain neutral on the dance question and are not identified closely with either interest constellation. Changes in formal power are illustrated by the election of 1967 when the neutral members were not willing to run for their offices again thereby making the dance question the primary issue of the election.

Eleven votes separated the winner from the loser in the Village Board President race indicating the closeness in power of the two interest constellations. The defeat of the pro-dance Village Clerk was brought about by more than his stand on the dance as he had created antagonisms throughout the community by his display of authority while holding the Village Clerk office. Trustees on the Village Board were indecisive about the dance issue prior to the 1967 election but the new Trustees were committed to one or the other interest constellation with three Trustees favoring the Saturday night dance and three Trustees opposed, thereby splitting the vote of the Village Board members on matters of significance to the two interest constellations. These tie votes had to be broken by the anti-dance Village Board President. Power change as it relates to formal decision making power is another indicator of the near balance of

power in Lake N such that operative integration has increasingly become crystallized around the pattern of power integration.

Although the Village Board, the Community Association, and other associations within Lake N still retain some decision making prerogatives, there is a power change that is produced by the strengthening of the external system decision making over aspects of local life. A decision ordering priorities of programs by the regional planning and development group, for example, has the effect of limiting Lake N's development. An example of such a decision is the priority given to the improvement of the parts and highway along the south shore of Lake Superior which will have the effect of removing Lake N still further from the main tourist route. Decision by the State Highway Department, by chain store and franchise managements, by regional church boards, and by the State Department of Public Instruction, to name only a few, affect power change within Lake N with the main effect being the weakening of local control. All indications are that the trend of diminished local power will continue with the eventual result of a termination of the existence of a community social system. More will be said about this possibility in the concluding chapter.

Power change within Lake N is characterized by a sharpening of the divisions separating the two interest constellations as indicated by the village election results. In the relations of the community social system to the external system there are signs of power loss to the external system and it appears that the power loss will continue. Neither interest constellation within Lake N seems capable of halting the external system power expansion as seen in the issue of the school board proposal. The holistic summary included in the final chapter will consider the paradox

of the relations between the external system and the community system from a slightly different point of view.

Power integration summary

Who has social power in Lake N? The placement of street lights within the platted village is one physical evidence of power whereas improved roadways or culverts often indicates local power outside of the platted village. One informant told of his retirement from local affairs and the loss of the street light that had been in front of his house for years. When the street light locations were checked by observation and the issue was discussed with other informants, it was clear that there was a high relationship between the location of community power actors and the location of street lights. In a similar manner, road construction projects were checked to see if there was a relationship between their location and the location of actors exercising power in local affairs. Although the agreement was not as high as it was for the location of street lights, road improvement location and the location of power actor's property and homes seems to be associated.

Are all power actors as observed by the researcher and identified by "physical improvement" and street light locations reputed to have social power? Some reputed power actors were found not to have social power but have retained a facade of power and although the power myth perpetuates their power potential, their actualization of power is infrequent because it has the effect of decreasing their power potential (62, p. 25).

Lacking the reputation for social power, some system actors have

considerable power exercised through the manner in which they implement decisions. The village maintenance man is an example of an actor who gains power through his implementation decisions rather than in the making of decisions such that others are dependent on the manner in which he accomplishes his assigned tasks. Because of his range of skills with road construction and maintenance equipment he has high essentiality and relative high social power which is enhanced by his kinship ties to the Village Board President and his occasional employment as a bartender in the Village Board President's tavern. Classified as a non decision-maker, he does advise the Village Board "road and bridge committee" regarding needed improvements and points out some of the problems of carrying out these improvements. Few residents of Lake N would list the village maintenance man an important power actor, but he and others like him in Lake N, have social power that is frequently actualized.

Some Lake N businessmen are said to have social power but with the exception of the Village Board President, it appears that the avoidance of controversy reduces the social power of businessmen. One businessman holding the office of Village Treasurer and standing in favor of the Saturday night dances quickly assures potential critics of the position that he is moderate in his views and that as Treasurer he has little voice in the affairs of the community. Having a reputation for power he is often called upon to intervene in local affairs to which he responds in a cautious noncommital manner. By so responding, he is able to retain his reputation for power without offending anyone and because of his business location he is able selectively to mention occasional matters to others in both interest constellations.

The desire of some community residents to stay apart from the conflict between the interest constellations has resulted in what has been called the leadership problem. Voluntary associations are hampered by the unwillingness of people within the community to become leaders because of fear of criticism. (Refer to Table 49). In order to avoid criticism that is often generated within one interest constellation or the other, potential leaders are not offering their talents to positions of community leadership. One might ask whether the leadership problem will have severe long range consequences for the integration of Lake N.

Social power is not an individual attribute but instead it emerges in the dynamic interplay of social relationships. Within Lake N the dynamics of power have separated the community into two interest constellations which in turn structure the operative integration, value integration, operative change, value change, and power change of Lake N. The main limitations placed on these interest constellations are found in the opposition exercised by opposing interest constellations and in the centralization of power in the external system. More attention will therefore be given to the external system in the next chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

Chapter Three contains the research questions which have guided the present research. The first part of the conclusion will be a consideration of these research questions in terms of their implications for social power. As the research questions are framed within the holistic orientation recommended in Chapter Two, the treatment of the research questions in their relation to social power as it is manifest within Lake N completes the specific research as formulated in Chapter Two and diagramed in Figure 5. The holistic social power summary is presented below.

Geography

1. What effect does Lake N's proximity to Duluth-Superior have on the life style of the community? Lake N's life style is influenced both by Duluth-Superior residents being part time residents of Lake N and Lake N full time residents working in Duluth-Superior. The Saturday night dance crowd provides another example of the impact of Duluth-Superior on the life style of Lake N. Accordingly, it may be said that Lake N's proximity to Duluth-Superior sets up preconditions from which power integration in Lake N is created.
2. To what extent is Lake N's growth potential restricted by the community's not being on a state highway? The answer to this question is uncertain as one can only suppose the benefits that a state highway would have for Lake N. Nevertheless, Lake N's interest constellations are unable to bring forth enough pressure

to get the highway rerouted.

3. How important is the lake in keeping Lake N a viable community? The lake is the focal point of most Lake N activity as well as a source of pride to Lake N residents. Concern by both interest constellations over keeping the lake free from pollution by installing a sewage treatment plant serves to demonstrate local power's recognition of the importance of the lake.

4. Historically, why was Lake N located in its present location? Lake N's present location came about as the result of land speculation and lumbering activity. The power of Weyerhaeuser, the "lumber king" whose influence was strongly felt in Lake N, has no parallel within Lake N at the present time.

5. What is the most important asset of Lake N's location? Lake N's location near Duluth-Superior and its lake together constitute the most important assets of Lake N. As Fuguitt makes clear, three factors need to be considered as prime predictors in determining the growth and decline of villages. These three factors are: 1) size, 2) location, relative to larger centers, and 3) non-village growth in the area (38, p. 18). The small size of Lake N is against its future growth whereas its location near Duluth-Superior and the spread of population from the urban centers into the countryside recommend Lake N's chances for maintenance and future growth. The lake will serve as an additional pull factor for Lake N. The growth of Lake N's population will modify the present power integration.

6. What are the characteristics of Lake N's climate? Lake N is cold in the winter and moderate to warm in the summer. Fortitude to withstand the cold winters is a prerequisite for social power as part time residents are considered to be outsiders not hearty enough to take Lake N's coldest months.
7. How does Lake N's climate differ from the climate in the surrounding area? Duluth-Superior is warmer in the winter and cooler in the summer with the result that many Duluth-Superior residents are part time residents of Lake N.
8. What are the reactions of the local residents and the summer residents to the extremes in season? Both resident groupings are pleased with the warm summers but, as stated above, local residents question the fortitude of summer residents, which has the effect of increasing the solidarity of local residents. Solidarity, or operative integration, is related to power integration and, in part, is the product of power integration.
9. Do local residents frequently leave Lake N during the winter months because of the extreme cold and snow? A few retired local residents leave during the coldest winter months but on their return they are met with a barrage of "joking" remarks that indicate that they have broken local norms by escaping the cold. Few local residents have abandoned their status-roles as power actors by taking winter vacations.
10. What kind of soil is most common in the area and in Lake N? The soil is a sand loam not well suited for farming and as a result agricultural interests are not important in the formation of

power integration.

11. What is the general topography of the area and of Lake N? Lake N and the area consist of gently rolling hills which are well suited to the purpose of vacationing. Both interest constellations recognize Lake N's vacation appeal but they differ on their views of preservation of the status quo.

12. Are there any important mineral deposits in the Lake N area? No, thereby excluding mining as a base of local power.

13. To what extent is swampland considered a liability by the local residents of Lake N? Most Lake N local residents accept the swampland without question but occasionally the swampland is seen as a barrier to prosperity that would come through farming and lumbering. In part, the swampland has the asset of providing a natural barrier between Lake N and the external system, a barrier that is appreciated by at least one of the interest constellations.

14. To what extent are state forests considered to be a local burden by the Lake N residents? The Lake N residents are only indirectly concerned with the expansion of the state forest and their eroding of the tax bases of neighboring communities. It is largely through the consolidated school that Lake N becomes involved in the state forest expansion question, an indication of how problems within the external system are growing in importance for Lake N and altering Lake N's power integration.

15. How important is the pulping industry to the local economy of Lake N? The pulping industry is of growing importance to the

Lake N local economy but those engaged in the pulping industry have low prestige. No one associated with the pulping industry was seen as a local power actor although some pulping operations are taking on the characteristics of "big business."

Demography

1. What is the population size of Lake N during the summer season? Approximately 4,000 people inhabit Lake N during the summer season representing an external system invasion which has implications for value change and by way of value change for power integration.
2. What is the population size of Lake N during the winter season? Lake N's population was 346 people in 1960 (122) but this figure represents an undercounting according to the Village Board President. The population in 1940 was 357 and in 1950 was 340. Through the study the population has been considered to be approximately 350. Part of the 350 people are not included in the operative integration of Lake N.
3. What is the age and socio-economic composition of the Lake N population during the two seasons, summer and winter? During the winter season Lake N has an older population (Refer to Table 5) with those in the labor force engaged largely in semi-skilled trades and clerical jobs. The summer cottage owners are adults and senior adults associated primarily, but not exclusively, with management and professional occupations. Contrary to the

usual pattern, the semi-skilled and clerical workers (the full time residents) hold the social power in relation to the managers and professionals (part time residents).

4. What are the fertility and mortality rates for Lake N? No accurate fertility rate could be obtained for Lake N and although Lake N was having a "baby boom", young families with newborn children were moving out of Lake N during the research period. Mortality rate for Lake N is fairly high as would be expected in a community with 21.1 per cent of its population over 65 years of age. Power and operative change are unsettled by both the outmigration of young families and deaths of senior citizens. (Refer to Table 7).

5. What are the migration patterns within Lake N? One pattern is the movement to the area north of Highway B where the newer homes are being built, and another internal migration pattern is out of the platted village. Property within the platted village area of new homes is difficult to obtain but can be obtained through pressure from either power constellation.

6. What are the immigration and emigration patterns for Lake N? As indicated above, young adults leave Lake N but they are replaced by senior adults. Lake N also has a seasonal in and out migration of part time residents. Both migrations alter operative integration but the first mentioned emigration pattern has a more pronounced long range effect on power integration.

History and culture change

1. Are local traditions viewed with pride or disdain in Lake N? Local traditions are largely forgotten. (Refer to Table 27). The Village Board President, as the leader of one interest constellation, talks of Lake N's past with reverence whereas the leaders of the other interest constellation are more interested in creating new "traditions."
2. What attempts are being made to preserve objects and document a record of Lake N's past? Apart from the efforts of a few interested individuals, the only concerted attempt to preserve objects and document Lake N's past is at the Boys Camp where a museum was established in 1962. More help from the community could make the Boys Camp museum a local archive but neither power faction seems to be willing to work for an official historian for Lake N although there is local sentiment supporting such a position. (Refer to Table 28).
3. How do local residents view innovations brought into Lake N by summer residents? Most local residents are quick to adapt innovations brought into Lake N for their own purposes. Neither power faction seems to be opposed to the physical innovations as long as they do not have a great impact on operative integration. Often the impact of such innovations is not appreciated until a later time. (Refer to Table 35).
4. What are the patterns of acculturation in Lake N for both local and summer residents? Local residents of Lake N assert that

they are glad that they are not part time residents but they do, in fact, emulate the behavior of part time residents. The more pronounced attempt to emulate behavior is found with the part time residents in their attempt to adapt to "country living" with the result that the possibility of power transfer from a home place is diminished.

5. To what extent are the general socio-cultural trends of the area instrumental in bringing about changes in Lake N? Lake N has suffered from the low employment opportunities and out migration that has plagued Northwestern Wisconsin. Negative attitudes that characterize an economically depressed area have begun to change as the economic prospects for Northwestern Wisconsin have improved. The improvement in economic conditions has been little affected by the local power of Lake N; there is some feeling that Lake N has not shared in the benefits derived from improved economic conditions. (Refer to Table 17).

Language

1. Are there any speech patterns that are distinctive to Lake N? No, and the lack of distinctive speech patterns may be cited as an indication of the extent to which Lake N is a "cosmopolitan" community. As such, Lake N lacks the boundary maintenance reinforced through language which is found to some extent in the communities surrounding Lake N. Low boundary maintenance has ramifications for power integration as indicated in the last chapter.

2. Are there any words or phrases that are given special meaning by local residents of Lake N? Areas of the community are designated by reference to people, events, and ethnic identification such as "Goldy's corner," "Claptown," and "Finntown." The Village Board's order to erect street signs has done little to change the use of these designations.
3. What impressions do Lake N residents have of people with considerable skill in expressing themselves verbally? The Village Board President is a "man of few words" and has never been known to give a speech. One of the adjustments that the researcher had to make during the research was to slow his speech timing so that a pause of several minutes would be commonplace. A versatile vocabulary and rapid speech are suspect in Lake N.
4. How common is it to find a language other than English spoken regularly in the homes of Lake N? Adults, and more commonly senior adults, use a language other than English regularly in their homes on occasion but this practice is becoming less common than it once was. None of the key figures in either interest constellation spoke English as a second language although some had limited skill in languages other than English.

Communications and records

1. What are the most effective means of disseminating news and information in Lake N? The Community Association bulletin board and Newsletter are effective news and information carriers with no

rival forms controlled by the opposing power faction. "Word of mouth" communication is judged partly ineffective by community residents. (Refer to Table 34).

2. Where are news items about Lake N published and how complete is the coverage? News items about Lake N are published in the Community Association Newsletter and in the Superior Evening Telegram. The Newsletter coverage represents a power faction point of view thereby lacking completeness whereas the Superior Evening Telegram selectively publishes news items submitted by a Lake N special reporter. It would appear that the Newsletter will serve to increase power integration in the Community Association.

3. How widespread is telephone use in Lake N and how satisfied are Lake N residents with their telephone service? Most Lake N residents have telephones, with the main exceptions being the old and the poor, many of whom are living on old age assistance, and the part time residents. Those with some degree of local power have telephones and appear not to be dissatisfied with the telephone exchange. (Refer to Table 36).

4. What effect does radio and television have on the world view and internal visiting patterns of Lake N? Lake N residents are exposed to mass communication coverage of events around the world with the result of value changes directed by the external system. At the same time, operative change with its implication for power integration has come about because of television viewing. (Refer to Table 35).

5. What are the main record keeping subsystems within Lake N and how accessible are these records to the public? Churches and village government are the main record keeping subsystems and with few exceptions these records are not open to the public although they may be obtained by those within the subsystems. Efforts to use public records for the present research met with little cooperation and when informants tried to obtain materials for the researcher their results were not much better. If a particular public record was asked for by name it was given but for the most part public records were treated as private property by the Village Board President.

Hunting, fishing and agriculture

1. How common are berry picking and other gathering activities among local and summer residents of Lake N? Berry picking is a common activity for both local and summer residents with local residents priding themselves on their knowledge of the best spots for berry picking. Women and senior adult men are most active in berry picking; it is not an activity engaged in by power actors.
2. How active are the local residents of Lake N in hunting and trapping activities? Hunting and trapping activities are part of the "outdoorsman" status-role so important in Lake N. Skillful hunters have high prestige which may be converted to social power in certain instances related to "outdoorsman" pursuits.

3. What are the common summer and winter fishing patterns of the Lake N residents? Summer fishing is done by boat whereas winter fishing is done from ice fishing houses usually clustered together on the ice. Operative integration and power integration are more greatly influenced by winter fishing.

4. To what extent are hunting and fishing activities used in Lake N to determine local prestige? As mentioned above, high prestige is gained from skill in hunting and skilled fishing carries the same reward. Both are manipulated through conspicuous display with deer usually placed for all to see and large fish occasionally displayed in one of the local places of business.

5. Which domesticated animals are commonly kept by local residents of Lake N and what attitudes do these residents hold about domesticated animals? Dogs and cats are common in Lake N but cats are considered to be a nuisance in that summer residents will bring kittens to their cottages at the first of the summer and neglect to take them back at the end of the season. Local residents are critical of part time residents for not killing the cats if they are no longer wanted. The criticism reduces the prestige of the part time residents as evaluated by the local residents.

6. How common are part time and full time agricultural activities in Lake N? The Garden Club promotes both vegetable and flower gardens and they receive support in this regard from both interest constellations. Flower gardens are both an indicator and a result of Lake N's pride and spirit, qualities which both

interest constellations wish to promote. (Refer to Table 26).

Food and eating patterns

1. What is a typical diet in Lake N? Residents of Lake N prefer a potato, vegetable, and meat diet cooked without "fancy extras." Dessert and pastries are most often of standard variety and are important in the local prestige among adult and senior adult women.
2. Where do Lake N residents buy their food? Senior adults buy their food in Lake N, adults affiliated with the anti-dance faction buy most of their food locally and those of the pro-dance faction are more likely to shop for food outside of Lake N. Young adults are also likely to shop for food outside of Lake N.
3. How many restaurants and coffee shops are available to Lake N residents and how are these affected by seasonal changes? During the summer season Lake N has three restaurants, two of which are in the coffee shop category as well. The winter season of 1966-1967, by contrast, was without either a restaurant or coffee shop with the result that operative integration and power integration were altered.
4. What is the place of the local tavern in the everyday life of Lake N? Local taverns are important to some of the male residents of Lake N, especially the single males, and one tavern served as a restaurant-coffee shop during the 1966-1967 winter season. Because the Village Board President is the owner of one of the taverns, his tavern is occasionally the location

of power transactions.

5. How does food preparation contribute to the prestige of Lake N women? As mentioned above, food preparation and more specifically the preparation of desserts has an important influence on the prestige of women in Lake N. Display of cooking talents is possible through Ladies Aid dinners and bazaars, and through Homemakers Club Activity.

Clothing and adornment

1. What is the everyday garb of Lake N local residents? Everyday garb for Lake N residents consists of either casual slacks and sweaters or work slacks and lumberjack shirts for men, either slacks and blouses or dresses with sweaters and lumberjack plaid jackets for women. Power actors cannot be identified by their clothing. (Refer to Table 29).
2. What special clothing patterns are evident in Lake N? Lumberjack plaid is characteristic of Lake N, a clothing pattern that is both adopted and promoted by the part time residents and the Boys Camp personnel and campers. When acting in the external system, the lumberjack plaid clothing is not worn, however, except by those from the Boys Camp. To an extent, the lumberjack plaid helps to promote boundary maintenance.
3. Where do Lake N residents go for cleaning services? Cleaning services follow a pattern similar to food buying with anti-dance faction adults and senior adults using a pickup service while other residents take their clothes to Duluth-Superior for cleaning.

4. To what extent has the Lake N laundromat altered washday and visiting patterns in Lake N? Increasingly the laundromat is used in place of washing clothes at home but very little visiting takes place there. The laundromat has an indirect effect on operative integration in that it frees local residents to engage in casual interaction and association activity.
5. Where do Lake N residents buy their clothing? Catalog sale of clothing is still important in Lake N but with the advent of discount stores in Duluth-Superior, many residents are traveling out of the community to buy their clothing and thereby are increasing the linkage with the external system.

Structures and settlement patterns

1. What is the general architectural style of Lake N? Houses from the lumering era are one and two story wood structures whereas the newer homes are largely one story ranch style dwellings. Cottages range from the simple two room variety to elaborate homes having more appointments and conveniences than do most year around homes. By and large, the power actors of Lake N live in newer or extensively remodeled homes.
2. How common is central heating in Lake N? Central heating is not common in the homes built during the lumbering era and most of these homes are equipped with space heaters. All heating equipment must be serviced by external system service centers, although some local "handymen" will attempt minor repairs.

3. What variety of outbuildings are evident in Lake N? Garages and sheds are common around the older homes whereas the newer homes are largely self contained. Many senior adults make use of their outbuildings as workshops while young adult and adult males store boats and other "outdoorsman" equipment in them.

4. What public and recreational structures are to be found in Lake N? The Lake N Auditorium is the single most important public and recreational structure, although the school is occasionally used for recreational purposes. In the controversy over the teenage dances, the issue technically became that of who may have access to the Auditorium.

5. What business and industrial structures are found in Lake N? The business and industrial structures are detailed under the heading "Ecology" in Chapter Five. The relationship between social power and businesses is discussed in Chapter Seven where it is stated that businessmen are, with the exception of the Village Board President, more likely to have a reputation for social power than to have actual social power.

6. What religious and educational structures are found in Lake N? Lake N's four churches and its school are important in promoting the boundary maintenance of Lake N. The location of these structures is discussed in Chapter Five under the heading "Ecology."

7. What is the general settlement pattern of Lake N? Two settlement patterns are found in Lake N, the platted village is one settlement pattern and the lakeshore dwellings represent another settlement pattern. (Refer to Maps 1, 2, and 3).
8. What is the street arrangement and traffic pattern of Lake N? The street arrangement (refer to Maps 1 and 3) and traffic patterns are of interest in that formal power is exercised through road improvements. Many roads that are little used are well paved thereby linking most of the dwellings in Lake N to the county highways by good roadways.
9. What park and public areas are available in Lake N? Three parks and a public boat launching area are found in Lake N. Some of the controversy emerging between the two power factions centered around who should use these areas and how they should be used.

Property and property care

1. What priorities are given to material goods by local residents? Local residents do not tend to be materialistic in orientation, with the young adult females departing from this pattern to some extent. Real estate is evaluated highly, however, with money invested in this sort of property considered as being well invested.
2. To what extent does the individual property owner view the state and county governments as monopolizers of land? Negative feelings toward the state and local governments as

property holders are not as pronounced in Lake N as they are in some of the communities neighboring Lake N. Lake N becomes involved in this question by way of its consolidated school linkage to these other communities.

3. How frequently does real property change hands in Lake N and how are such transactions accomplished? Many homes and tracts of land are sold through the bank located in the community northwest of Lake N although some are sold through Duluth-Superior banks and realty companies. Homes within the platted village are slow to sell whereas waterfront cottages are seldom on the real estate market for long. No one in Lake N is engaged in the real estate business, however some individuals speculate on real estate.

4. How prevalent is rental property in Lake N during the summer season and during the winter season? Rental property is impossible to find for the winter season as testified to by the researcher's intensive search. Summer rentals are more prevalent but not plentiful with some cottage owners renting their cottages for several weeks during the summer season and two cabin rental businesses operating during the summer period. Arrangements must be made well in advance for accommodations, however. (Refer to Table 19).

5. What patterns of borrowing and lending are found in Lake N? Borrowing and lending are important to casual interaction and thereby contribute to operative integration. (Refer to Table 30).

6. Do most Lake N home owners have the tools and talent necessary to keep their homes in repair or do they hire others to make needed repairs? Within Lake N there are several "handymen" who keep busy with repairs and improvements for widows and those unable to maintain their homes by themselves. Most males of Lake N are skillful with the variety of tools needed for home repairs. The "housebuilder" and "outdoorsman" status-roles contribute to the dominance of Lake N males.

Exchange and labor

1. What general community gift giving patterns are found in Lake N? The Birthday Club's recognition of birthdays and the Garden Club's honoring of senior citizens are patterns of institutionalized gift giving found in Lake N. Bringing flowers to a neighbor in the summer time is a form of gift giving common in Lake N. Operative integration is both produced by and indicated by these gift giving forms.
2. What obligations are recognized as binding on all Lake N residents with regard to buying, selling, and repairing? There are two standards in this regard with the anti-dance faction enforcing local allegiance in consumer behavior and the Community Association standing for local business as an association but its members are more likely to buy goods elsewhere.
3. What are the attitudes of local residents in Lake N about work and leisure and how do these attitudes correspond to behavior? Lake N residents respect a man or woman who demonstrates that

he is capable of hard work; however, there is a recognition that hard work does not have much payoff for those who remain in Lake N. (Refer to Table 14). Leisure pursuits are considered in terms of their dollar value relative to people of the external system and are acceptable for all as a part of life in Lake N.

4. What are the Lake N definitions of division of labor by age and sex? Women are expected to do the tasks that are not usually defined as a part of the general feminine status-role because many men are gone from home during the hours that these tasks must be performed. The broad definition of women's work does not raise a woman's power in the family as one might expect. Women may be seen driving trucks, roofing houses, and pumping gasoline.

5. How is the local labor supply affected by the seasonality of activities in Lake N and in the area? Winter is a slow time for Lake N businesses and for the transportation industries of Duluth-Superior. Economic power, accordingly, is reduced for many Lake N residents during the winter season.

6. What is considered an acceptable income in Lake N? Sensitivity to income questions restricted the gathering of wage information but from the limited information available it seems that hourly wages of $2.50 per hour are not uncommon. Seasonal employment reduces the overall earnings of residents but this loss is partly compensated for by higher hourly wages in seasonal jobs. Most power actors are engaged in regular non-seasonal employment.

Travel and transportation

1. To what extent is a travel vacation an acceptable pattern in the lives of local Lake N residents? Many Lake N residents are convinced that there is no better place during the summer than Lake N, although fishing trips to Canada are considered to be time well spent. Travel in the area of Northern Wisconsin and Michigan and occasional trips to Milwaukee and Minneapolis are common vacation patterns during the fall and spring of the year. In general, power actors are more likely to take travel vacations than are non power actors.
2. What are the general travel patterns of Lake N residents for the purposes of obtaining employment, goods, and services? Lake N residents are linked to Duluth-Superior in all of these activities thereby constituting a primary systemic linkage with the external system. (Refer to Table 24)..
3. What means of transportation are available for Lake N health and accident emergencies? Lake N has an ambulance that is maintained by the village and operated by some of the members of the Volunteer Fire Department. Drivers are paid $5.00 for each call. There was a problem of a lack of qualified drivers during the 1966-1967 winter season resulting in a course sponsored by the Village Board to qualify drivers for the ambulance responsibility and it is worth noting that this course was well attended. (Refer to Table 47).
4. How do the local road conditions in Lake N contribute to the travel patterns? It is generally accepted that Lake N has an excellent road system thereby eliminating the problem of inpassable roads

in the spring of the year. The road system is interpreted by Lake N residents as evidence of a good local government. (Refer to Table 40).

5. How does the lake facilitate transportation in Lake N? Boating is actively engaged in during the summer months with cottage owners visiting each other by boat and people coming to the business district by boat. Few power actors are active boating enthusiasts, however.

6. How has the increasing acceptance of the snowmobile altered winter transportation and recreation in Lake N? The snowmobile has made accessible areas that were not accessible previously during the winter season thereby producing a new form of recreation and a new problem of social control. Local regulation of snowmobiles will be necessary eventually but state laws regarding their use on streets is the only legal control now in effect for snowmobiles in Lake N.

Living standards and recreation

1. What is the general standard of living and deviation from this standard in Lake N? Young adult females are demanding household conveniences for their homes that adult and senior adult females have not considered essential. Still, there is the acceptance of rustic living and the "simple life" such that pretentiousness is not considered to be in good taste. The dirt floor two-room house of a part time pulpcutter occupied by ten or more people represents the lowest standard of living found in Lake N. Some of the summer homes with guest houses offer examples of the other extremes as the highest standard of living found in Lake N.

2. What are the daily, weekly, and seasonal routines of Lake N?

During the summer months the days are busy with water activity dominating if the weather is warm. Weekends are filled with activity centering around the Saturday night dance during the summer season and during the winter season the taverns are kept busy both Friday and Saturday nights with some business on Sunday. Weekdays during the winter are quiet with more activity noted in the afternoon than in the morning.

3. What leisure time activities are prevalent in Lake N by season, age, and resident type? Senior adult females play cards in each other's homes and attend voluntary association meetings, senior adult males talk and pursue hobbies, while adult and young adult males work during the week and do much the same as senior adult males on weekends. Adult females attend voluntary association meetings and are usually active in local affairs whereas young adult females are less engaged in local affairs. Adults are most important in Lake N power integration. Summer residents are primarily concerned with recreation and are not important in Lake N's power integration.

4. How do athletics and other sports activities fit into the life pattern of Lake N? Lake N has a summer baseball team sponsored by the Community Association and sports activities of the consolidated high school are followed carefully by some of the local residents. Teenage males have a high interest in basketball and the school gymnasium is open to them one night each week for that purpose; basketball also dominates the Boy Scout

meetings. The recreation night at the school gymnasium is made possible by the Village Board.

5. What special holiday celebrations are promoted in Lake N and what subsystems promote them? The Community Association is responsible for sponsoring the Homecoming and the Fourth of July celebrations, the Christmas tree lighting is sponsored by the Garden Club in cooperation with the churches, and the Village Board decorates the business district for Christmas.

6. What variety of activities center around music and dancing and what part of the residents of Lake N favor each activity? Music and dancing are associated with the Firemen's Ball, the New Years Eve dance, and other occasional adult dances. The Saturday night teenage dances are related to another kind of music and dancing. Both the practices and performances of the Duquesne University Tamburitzans represent another Lake N activity centering around dancing and music.

Social stratification and interpersonal relations

1. What are the recognized age divisions that serve to stratify interaction in Lake N? As discussed at length in Chapter Six, the age divisions are important in stratifying interaction in Lake N. Adults (40 to 65 years) are most important in power integration.

2. To what extent is interaction channeled by sex divisions and how does this vary by age in Lake N? Sex is another important

stratification force for interaction with voluntary associations reinforcing sex divisions and occasionally bridging age divisions.

3. How many ethnic groups are present in Lake N and how are they ranked according to the local system of stratification? Swedish, Norwegian, Czechoslovakian and Finnish are the most common ethnic groups in Lake N, with the first two mentioned carrying a stratification advantage and the last two mentioned carrying a stratification disadvantage.

4. What are the social class distinctions made in Lake N and how are these behaviorally distinguished? Social class distinctions are slight for young adults but are found among the adults and senior adults and are based on the extent of involvement a family has in community affairs. Activists in both interest constellations are accorded high rank in the community.

5. What patterns of interpersonal and intergroup relations are prevalent in Lake N? Patterns of interpersonal and intergroup relations are complex, as indicated in Chapter Six, with church affiliation, kin group membership, and association membership being important factors in structuring social relations.

6. How are friendship bonds both strengthened and disrupted by the seasonality of the Lake N vacation community? Seasonal in and out migration of Lake N part time residents demands periodic adjustments in the operative integration of Lake N but it appears that the necessary periodic adjustments keep the Lake N

social system more viable than it would otherwise be.

7. What is the importance of cliques in social power strategy and implementation in Lake N? As discussed in Chapter Seven, two cliques or interest constellations are present in Lake N with one power faction favoring the Saturday night dances and the other faction opposed to the dances. The near equality of power of the two interest constellations is important in that much of the local life has become crystallized around the two factions.

8. What visiting and hospitality patterns are evident by local and summer Lake N residents for those within and outside of the community? Visiting patterns are stratified by age categories and by sex with house-to-house visitation within the community found among females by age and public visitation preferred by males according to age. Visitors from the external system are more common for all the Lake N residents during the summer season.

9. How many voluntary associations are there in Lake N, what is the purpose of each, and how are they related to each other? Lake N voluntary associations are discussed in Chapter Six and their relations are diagramed. (Refer to Figure 8). The voluntary associations controlled by the senior adult females have attempted to avoid taking a stand on the dance question although many of the senior adult females are opposed to the dances.

10. Which voluntary associations within Lake N are prone to ingroup and intergroup antagonisms? Some ingroup and intergroup

antagonisms are found with the senior adult voluntary associations but the most pronounced antagonism is found between the Community Association and the past members of the Odd Fellows Lodge who are in the process of regrouping as the Lions Club.

11. To what extent do Lake N voluntary associations seem to reflect and reinforce age and sex divisions? Age and sex divisions are reinforced by voluntary associations as illustrated by neither males nor young adult females belonging to the Birthday Club. Some associations such as church committees have the effect of increasing age and sex interactions, however.

12. To what extent do Lake N voluntary associations seem to reflect and reinforce friendship formations? It is difficult to know whether the friendships preceded voluntary association membership or the voluntary association membership preceded the friendships. The two are certainly mutually reinforcing in Lake N.

13. How do the stratification systems of local and summer residents in Lake N compare and which stratification system predominates in Lake N? Just as summer residents are unable to transfer power to Lake N they are unable to transfer prestige. Nevertheless, knowledge of the Duluth-Superior stratification syssem by some Lake N residents gives the external system ranking some meaning in Lake N. For the most part, summer residents are not ranked high in the Lake N system of stratification which is discussed in question four above.

14. At which locations do most social relationships take place in Lake N? Social relationships take place as casual interactions

between neighbors and friends in residence areas, in the business area, and at public gatherings. The business area and the Auditorium, where most of the public gatherings are held, are the most common arenas of interaction.

Marriage and family

1. Where do Lake N youth most commonly meet their potential dating and marriage partners? The consolidated school has altered dating and courtship patterns in Lake N such that at one time Lake N youth had most frequent contact with each other and then for several years contact with Superior youth was common as they attended the high school in Superior. Courtship and marriage patterns have become area-wide with the creation of the consolidated school.
2. To what extent is dating and marriage between members of local and summer residential groups accepted and encouraged in Lake N? Occasional "summer romances" are found between part time resident youth and full time resident youth but these relationships are discouraged by both part time and full time residents. A more common pattern is for the few local youth that attend the Saturday night dances to find potential dating partners from among the external system teenagers attending the dances. External system dating patterns stand as another example of systemic linkage to the external system.
3. How common is it for newlyweds from Lake N to reside in Lake N?

In recent years several newlywed couples have settled in Lake N with one male from Lake N bringing his wife to live in the community and one female from Lake N bringing her husband to live in the community. These couples became operatively integrated into the community more rapidly than was true for non-resident inmigrants.

4. How stable are marriages in Lake N? Occasional instances of divorce and desertion by males are recorded in Lake N but for the most part marriages are stable. The most common form of dissolving marriages is through death of one of the marriage partners with considerable integration adjustment noted for either the widow or the widower.

5. What is the average family size in Lake N? For the total community, the average size of the family is small because of the high per cent of older residents. For families with children living at home, a five member family is not uncommon.

6. How extensive and important are systems of kinship in Lake N? As stated in Chapter Six, kinship is important in structuring social relationships and serves to strengthen the operative integration of churches. Many Lake N residents are linked by kingroup ties. (Refer to Table 31).

7. What kind of interpersonal relationships are common among kinsmen in Lake N by age, sex, and type of kinship? Male kinsmen hunt together, help one another, and serve together on church boards. Females of the same kin group visit together, help one another, and often shop together in Duluth-Superior. The relationship

between the interest constellations and the kin groups is not precise, however, with only a loose connection in membership.

8. How frequently do married children of Lake N residents usually return to Lake N to visit their parents? Married children return infrequently to visit their parents during the winter season but the pattern changes during the summer season with visits often associated with the recreational activities of Lake N. Travel out of Lake N by parents of married children not living in Lake N to visit children and grandchildren is a fairly common winter travel pattern.

9. How general are the occurrences of premarital and extramarital sex relations in Lake N? Information on premarital and extramarital sex relations is difficult to obtain and often unreliable. The most open display of premarital sex relations is found in connection with the Saturday night teenage dances but again the scope of this behavior is difficult to determine. In the dance controversy, the anti-dance faction was prone to exaggerate and the pro-dance faction was prone to underrate the prevalence of premarital sexual activity associated with the dances.

Socialization and age grades

1. What is the attitude toward and treatment of infants and children in Lake N? Infants and children are of great importance in Lake N where the majority of the population is older. Young

adults are given deference as the parents of young children, "grandparent" behavior toward children is frequently exhibited.

2. What childhood activities are common in Lake N? Sliding on the snow during the winter, biking during the fall and spring, and water activities during the summer dominate the children's play activities in Lake N. Because of the distance between the platted village and the southern extreme of the community, play activities are sometimes difficult to arrange, thereby giving rise to the "youth club."

3. What is the attitude toward and treatment of adolescents in Lake N among the local residents? Adolescents are not given much attention by the community in general with the result that some youths are critical of their apparent low prestige. Male adolescents are more active in community life whereas females are tied more closely with the consolidated school.

4. What adolescent activities are common in Lake N? Local youths are involved with the "teen club," males are active in Boy Scouts, and some Lake N youths attend the Saturday night dances during the summer. Value change is promoted by the local youths' attendance at the Saturday night dances.

5. What privileges and responsibilities come with adulthood in Lake N? Young adults are given few privileges and responsibilities but are expected to serve an apprentice period. Adults dominate the operative and power integration of the community but share value integration with senior adults.

6. What adult activities are common in Lake N? Adults are engaged in most local activities with some adults being more involved than others. It is the Lake N adult power actor who controls the Lake N community to the extent that it is not controlled by the external system.

7. What is the attitude toward and treatment of aged residents in Lake N? Aged residents are looked after by senior adults and adults; the Douglas County social worker advised the researcher that a call to one of the Lake N business places is sufficient to prompt a visit by a local resident to an elderly widow or widower.

8. What activities are common among aged residents of Lake N? Some senior adults are "aged" in terms of years but are quite active with voluntary associations and hobbies whereas others are little involved in the community, viewing it as a quiet place in which to live out their lives.

9. Which subsystems in Lake N are most instrumental in the transmission of norms, skills, and beliefs? The churches, families, and school are instrumental in these respects; however, increasingly, the external system is directing socialization.

Community and political organization

1. What is the political structure of Lake N? Lake N has a Village Board as discussed in Chapter Six. Village Board members are increasingly affiliated with one of the two interest constellations.

2. How are local officials selected in Lake N? The selection of local officials is described in Chapter Eight and may be seen as a display of strength of the two interest constellations.

3. How effective are formal and informal social control measures in Lake N? Formal social control is thought to be adequate (Refer to Table 44) and problems of property damage are not thought to be as great as is true of larger cities. (Refer to Table 46). For the local residents, public opinion is the most effective instrument of social control.

4. What are the jurisdictions and regular activities of official policy making bodies in Lake N? The Village Board has a wide range of decision-making responsibility as the only official government body in Lake N. It is, therefore, understandable that the two interest constellations compete for Village Board seats.

5. How is Lake N related to larger political entities both structurally and functionally? At present, the Village Board President is a member of the County Board of Supervisors, thereby linking Lake N politically with the county level of government by way of an interlocking directorate as well as by structure.

6. What is the state of dependency between Lake N and the larger political entities with which it is connected? Increasingly, Lake N is becoming dependent on the large political entities of county, state, and federal governments. As dependency is

the key to power relationships, it may be concluded that Lake N is losing formal power.

Social problems and sanctions

1. What are the most common social problems in Lake N? As defined by the local residents, the most common social problems in Lake N are associated with the Saturday night dances. From the outsider's definition, Lake N's most common social problem is the scarcity of wealth and the "depressed area syndrome" that accompanies the presence of this problem.
2. What are the means most frequently employed in Lake N to deal with social problems? The Saturday night dance problems are dealt with by the "law and order" solution using special force officers, county sheriff officers, and State Police officers. Neither interest constellation seems to know how to deal with the "depressed area syndrome;" however, their differing attempts to solve the problem bring them into conflict.
3. Which subsystems are most capable of employing sanctions and preventing problems in Lake N? Church and kin groups have effective mechanisms of social control but the problems affecting Lake N are not problems of deviation or disintegration but are problems originating in the external system affecting the Lake N social system. If the external system persists within Lake N, disintegration within the social system will most likely result.

4. What is the court system in Lake N and how effective is it? Lake N has a Justice Court that operates primarily on Saturday nights by fining teenagers. As an instrument of social control it is not very effective.
5. How does the small population size of Lake N act as a deterrent to deviation? It is quite true that few secrets can be kept in a small town; accordingly, Lake N residents do not deviate from the local norms without detection.

Religion, sickness, and death

1. What religious denominations are present in Lake N and how do these churches differ in religious beliefs and practices? The four churches found in Lake N, as discussed in Chapter Six, are the Swedish Baptist, the Lutheran, the Roman Catholic, and the Presbyterian.
2. What is the status-role of clergy in Lake N? Only one church, the Swedish Baptist, has a resident minister. All other clergy live outside of Lake N and are not considered as a part of Lake N.
3. How central is religious activity in the community life of Lake N? Religious activity is one of the primary activities contributing to operative and value integration and it is aided by kin groups in these integrations. (Refer to Table 52).
4. To what extent is there interfaith cooperation among Lake N churches? Most Lake N residents feel that there is sufficient interfaith cooperation, although the Christmas tree lighting

is perhaps the most overt church cooperation example found in Lake N. (Refer to Table 53).

5. What activities are expected of churches in Lake N with regard to sickness and death? Apart from the Sunday worship services, attention to the sick and arrangements for the dead are the most important activities of Lake N ministers with the exception of the full time minister at the Swedish Baptist Church.

6. What medical care facilities are available to Lake N residents and to what extent is adequate medical care considered a problem for local residents? As discussed in question 3 under "Travel and Transportation," Lake N has an ambulance service considered to be adequate by local residents. Routine medical care presents a problem for the elderly as there is no public transportation to Duluth-Superior and a ride with someone going to Duluth-Superior on other business usually means long waits which are tiring for the old and the sick.

7. What are the community reactions to death in Lake N and how do funerals serve as an integrating force for the community? Death is disruptive to Lake N integration, with the status-roles of the deceased determining the extent of integration adjustment required. Funerals serve to integrate the community by linking those attending a ceremony and it is common to find the same actors serving as pall bearers for numerous funerals.

Analytical prospects

In the foregoing summary of social power, integration, and change in Lake N by the research questions it is clear that the holistic frame of reference with its assumptions of mutual interdependence results in a far more involved data presentation than is true for variable studies. How might the holistic approach and the variable approach be used to supplement each other? As recommended in Chapter One, the variable approach to research with its usual reliance on quantification depends on acquaintance knowledge both in the formation of measures and in the interpretation of results. The holistic approach to research follows the observation-description mode of data gathering and can provide needed acquaintance knowledge. Similarly, when quantitative research is carried out and the variables do not fit together in the manner hypothesized by the researcher, observation-description is in order to lend a holistic appreciation of the problem in question that may in turn be used to guide renewed quantitative studies. Holistic and variable approaches to research are therefore supplementary such that each benefits from the other and both lead to a more complete understanding of the research problem.

Apart from the supplementary relationship between holistic-observation studies and variable-quantitative studies, where might a contribution of holistic observation be found? The clue to this question is found in the writings of the comparative sociologist, Radcliffe-Brown (99). Comparison of holistic observation studies has an enormous potential for reaching a new level of knowledge of social systems. Radcliffe-Brown is aware of the advantages of the comparative approach because of his training as an

anthropologist and recommends the comparative study of social systems similar to the comparative culture approach that has been so successful in anthropology. How might the comparative approach proceed? A brief comparative look at R. Lowry's Who's Running This Town (68) and the present research may answer this question.

A comparative analysis of the two studies would have to proceed according to a systematic category list of similarities and differences. Lowry's "Micro City" and the Lake N community have different historical backgrounds, different locations, different population sizes, and different social structures. Despite these basic differences, they share some features in common. Lowry speaks of a "conservative ideology" and develops a typology of leaders following R. Merton's "local" and "cosmopolitan" distinction (76, pp. 387-436). The present research has also dealt with the conservative ideology and the contrast between the two interest constellations suggests a distinction similar to the "local" and "cosmopolitan" distinction. Lowry makes the point that, "The small community in modern society can no longer remain isolated from the impact of urban change" (68, p.203). The same conclusion has been reached in the present study where it is said that the external system is diminishing the boundary maintenance of the community social system. As is apparent by these few statements, a careful comparison of the two research studies would constitute a significant research contribution by itself relating to the questions common to both studies.

Careful comparative analysis will strengthen acquaintance knowledge in sociology and sharpen the appreciation of salient variables relative to research problems and human social problems. It is contended in

the first part of this dissertation that sociology has selected a single approach and a single conception of acceptable sociological research. Documentation of this contention in terms of both the historical perspective and the contemporary perspective lead to the later assertion that there is a discrepancy between sociological theory and the practices of empirical research. The discrepancy is termed "sociology's credibility gap." A combination of holistic observation studies and comparative analysis would work to promote the supplementary relationships that are necessary for constructive research and would in turn reduce "sociology's credibility gap." Variable research and quantification are valuable and make a considerable contribution to sociology but they cannot stand alone.

Limitations and relevance of the research

The present research has had two purposes and must be evaluated in terms of both of these purposes. In the first four chapters the researcher sought to demonstrate a problem in sociological investigation brought about by the dominance of quantification and the natural science approach. As an alternative, the natural history and the holistic approaches are recommended not to replace the other approach as the new dominant mode of sociological investigation but to create a supplementary relationship between different approaches to sociological research. The notion of supplementary relationships between research techniques is a central thesis of the present study.

In the last four chapters, the supplementary research technique thesis is put into practice in the study of Lake N, a small Wisconsin vacation

community. Some readers might find the descriptive account of Lake N dull and commonplace but it stands as a documentation of a social system and as such it has worth for the sociologist interested in either variable analysis or comparative analysis. The second purpose of the present research is to recommend the careful documentation of social systems by way of holistic observation so as to build a deeper understanding of social systems. The deeper understanding of social systems is necessary both for the ends of building sociology as a more complete social science and for contributing some guidance in the solution of human social problems.

Limitations inherent in the present research are not easily hidden. Holistic descriptions of social systems are difficult to manage and are time consuming. The use of a range of research techniques puts great demands on the researcher and occasionally produces confusion rather than insight. Having accomplished the present research, the next study executed by the researcher following the same format will be planned so as to avoid a few of the pitfalls that may recur. Taking these limitations into account, however, the present researcher is convinced that the research presented in this dissertation stands for a direction of sociological investigation that, although out of fashion in current sociology, should be of concern to the professionals within the discipline. The direction of the present work, with its limitations being the enormous complexity of problem conception and research execution, is consistent with the interdisciplinary research of growing importance at the present time and stands in oppositon to the simplistic explanations and easy conclusions which have been rejected so openly in recent years. As such, the holistic

approach and use of supplementary research techniques are well adapted to the research demanded at the present and for the future.

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